The Late Antique City: Urban Development in Late Roman Gaul and Britain

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Abstract

This PhD thesis examines urban development in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. – the period known as Late Antiquity – in Britain and Gaul. Using a combination of archaeological material and Christian literature of the period, it analyses the cities of Trier and Metz in Gaul, and Cirencester and Verulamium in Britain in terms of their roles as centres of population, centres for political interaction, and religious centres. It also examines the ways in which the city changed as a literary concept in the writings of Late Antique Gaul. From this, this thesis demonstrates that the city in Gaul evolved from its traditional classical role and appearance to become a Christian city, while the city in Britain failed to evolve, since it lacked a strong Christian presence and leadership, and thus declined to the point at which it disappeared. Throughout, this thesis challenges the traditional notion that the Gallic city in the Late Antique period declined, arguing instead that it evolved into something new. This thesis, therefore, does three things; it provides an analysis of the workings of urban life in Gaul and Britain in the Late Antique period; it demonstrates that the Late Antique city should be regarded as conceptually different from the Classical city and should thus be judged in different terms; and it provides an answer, through comparison with the situation in Gaul, to the question of why the Romano-British city declined and disappeared.

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Lastly, I would like to thank Simon Loseby for providing me with a copy of his article on the end of the city in Britain, and Richard Reece for sending me a copy of *My Roman Britain* and being kind enough to spend time discussing the late antique city with me.

Author's Declaration

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the Regulations of the University of Bristol. The work is original except where indicated by special reference in the text and no part of the dissertation has been submitted for any other degree.
Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author and in no way represent those of the University of Bristol.
The dissertation has not been presented to any other University for examination either in the United Kingdom or overseas.

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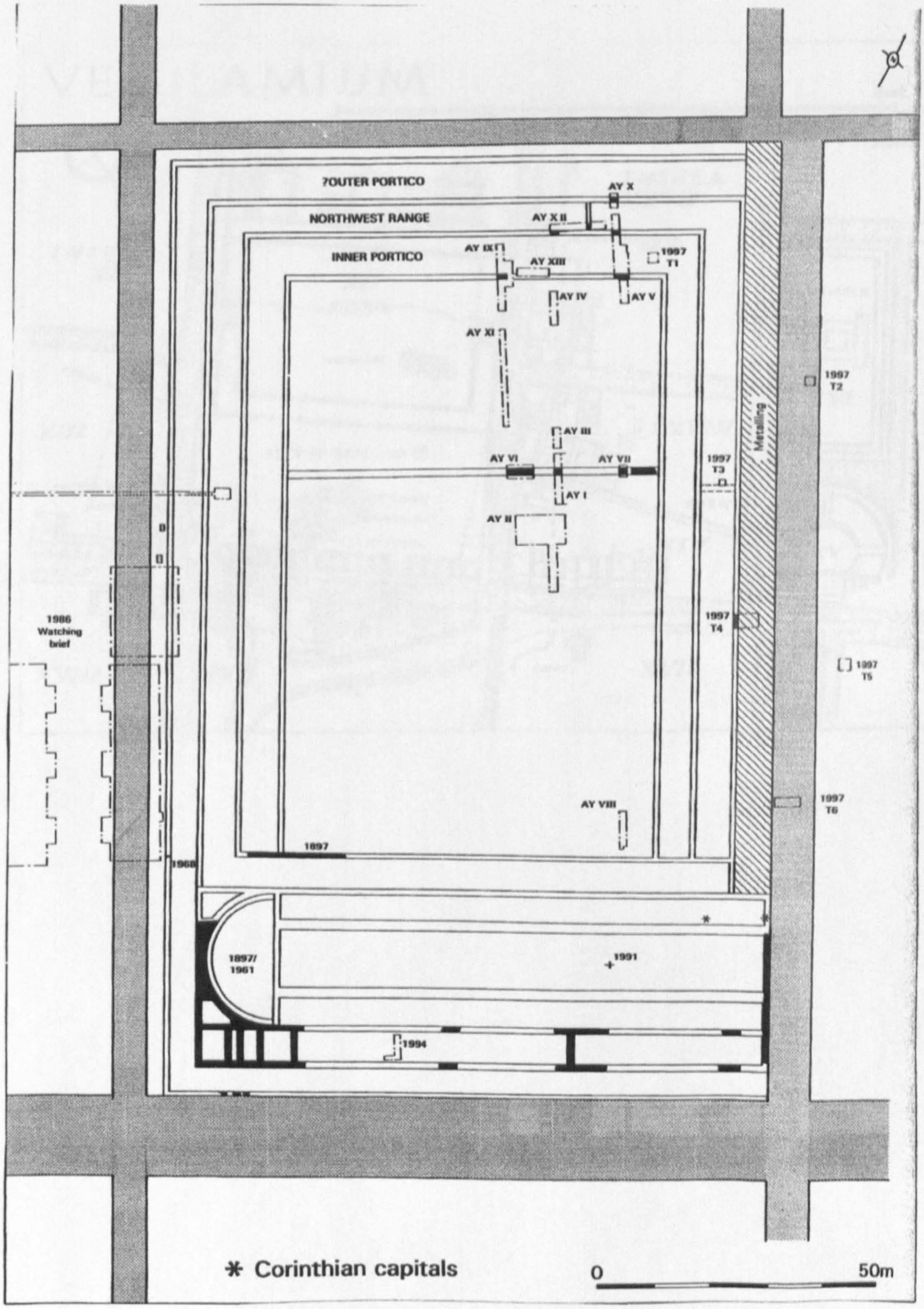

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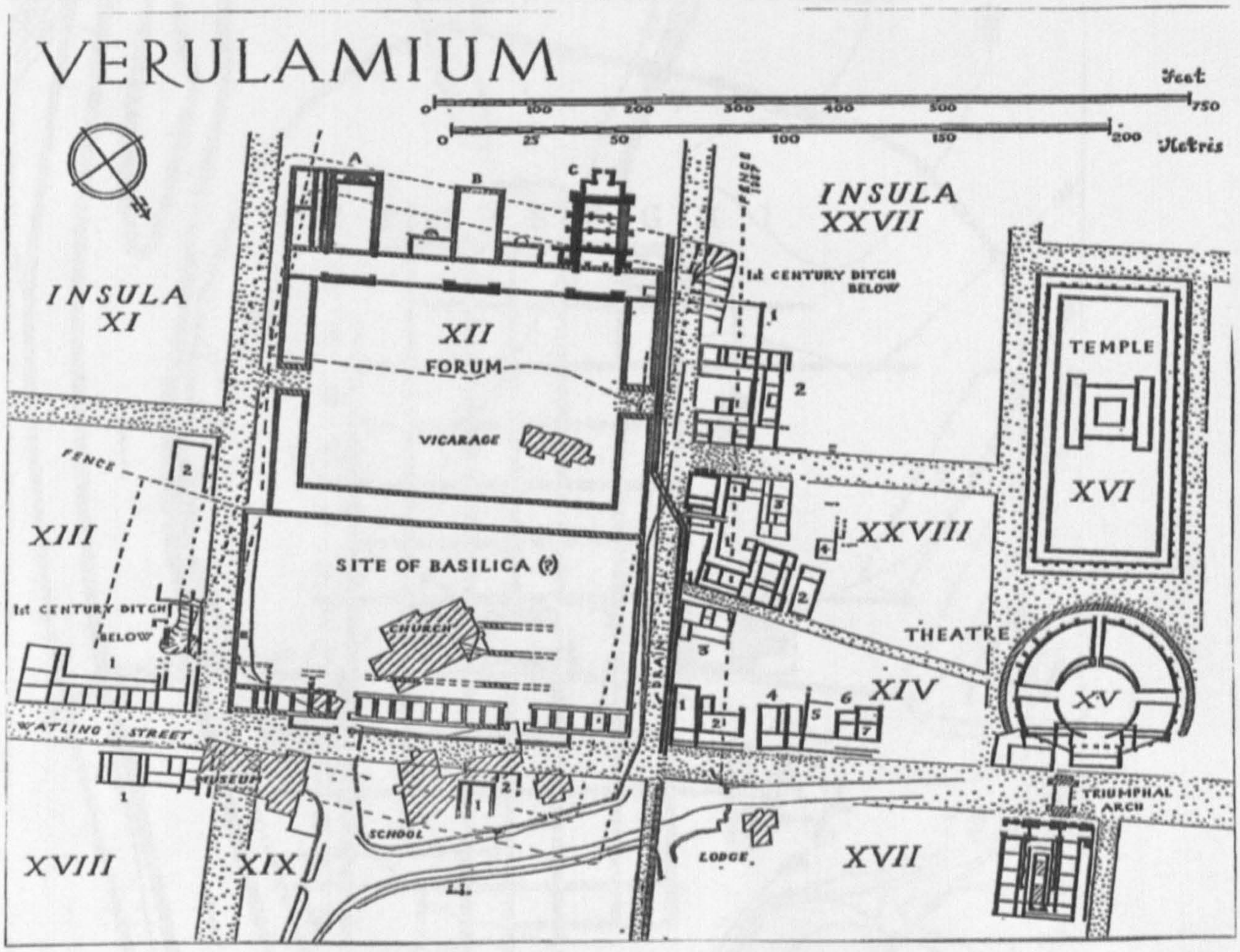

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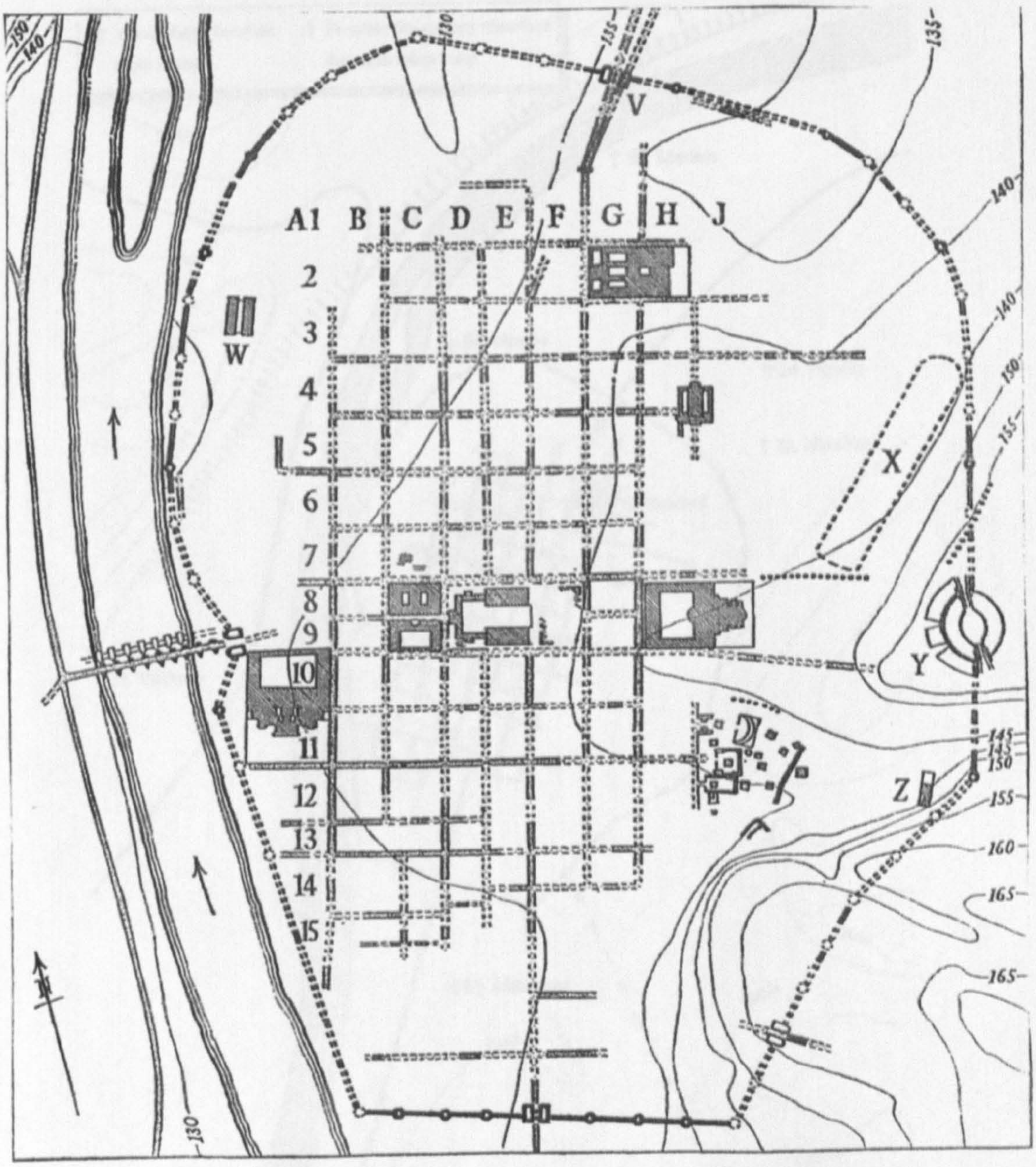

A 10/11 Barbarathermen C 7 House of Victorinus C 8-9 4th century buildings
D/F 8/9 Forum G/H 2 4th century Double Church H/J 4/5 Basilika Complex
H/J 8/9 Kaiserthermen J 11/12 Altbachtal
V Porta Nigra W Horrea X Circus (?) Y Amphitheatre
Z Temple 'Am Herrenbrünnchen'

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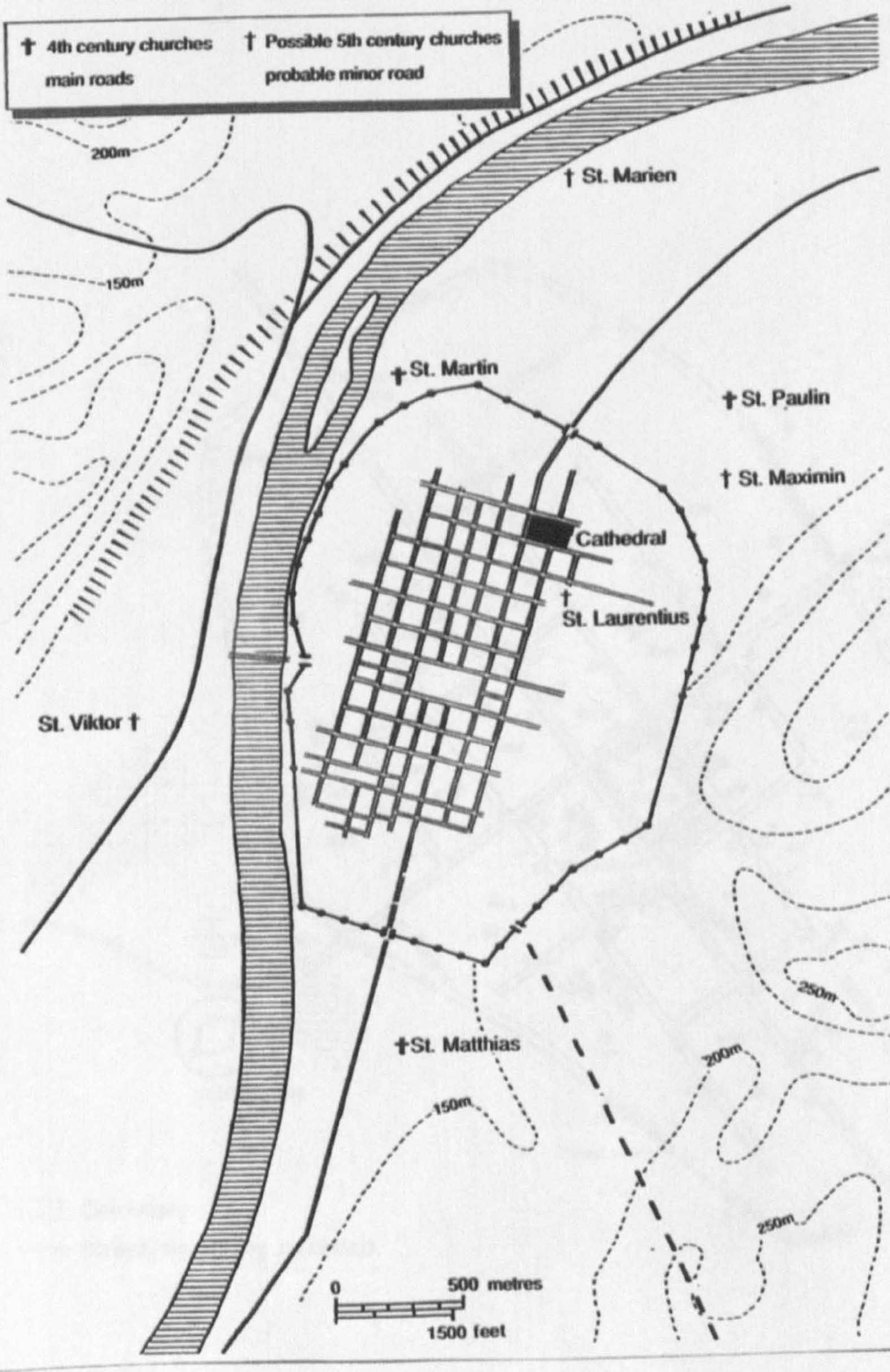

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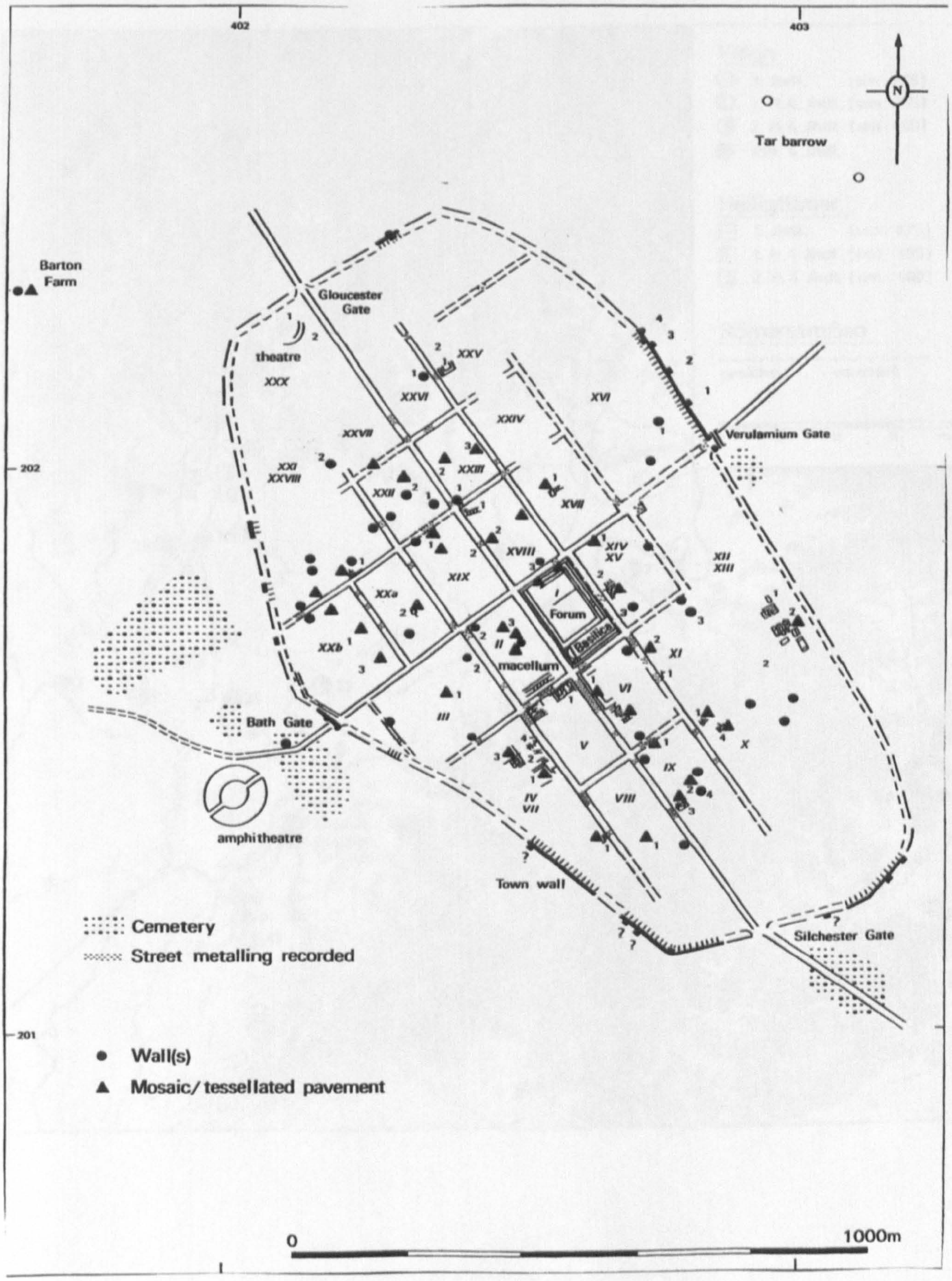

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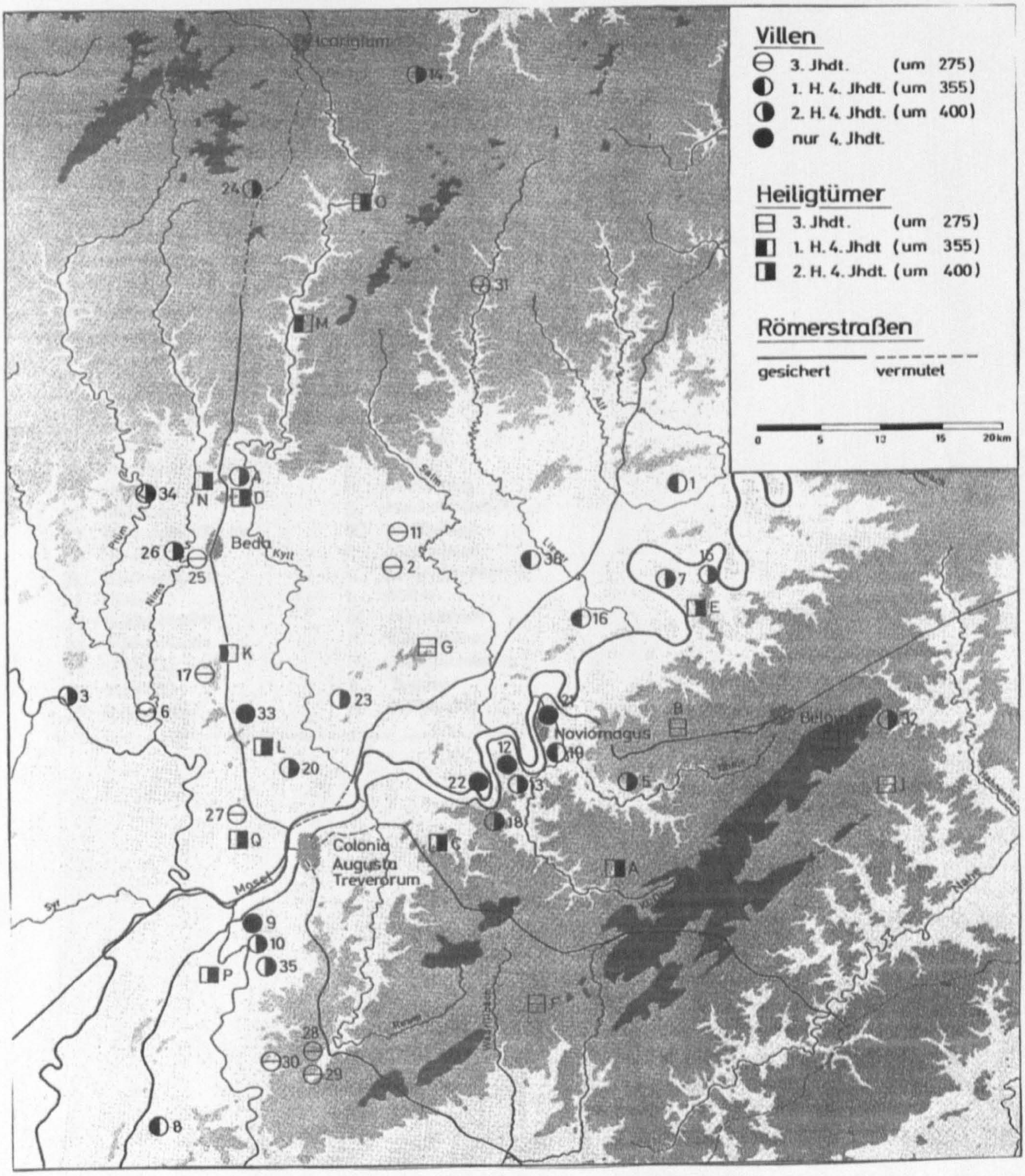

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Abb. 1 Villen und Heiligtümer des Trierer Landes in der späteren Antike.

Villen

1. Bengel
2. Binsfeld
3. Bollendorf
4. Fließem
5. Horath
6. Irrel
7. Kinheim
8. Kirf
9. Konz (1)
10. Konz (2)
11. Landscheid
12. Leiwen (1)
13. Leiwen (2)
14. Leudersdorf
15. Lösnich
16. Maring-Noviand
17. Meckel
18. Mehring
19. Neumagen-Dhron
20. Newel
21. Niederemmel
22. Pölich
23. Schleidweiler
24. Schwirzheim
25. Stahl (1)
26. Stahl (2)
27. Trierweiler
28. Vierherrenborn (1)
29. Vierherrenborn (2)
30. Vierherrenborn (Irsch)
31. Welersbach
32. Weitersbach
33. Welschbillig
34. Wiersdorf
35. Wiltingen
36. Wittlich

Heiligtümer

A. Bäsch (Dhronecken)
B. Elzerath
C. Fell
D. Fließem
E. Graach
F. Gusenburg
G. Heckenmünster
H. Hochscheid
I. Hottenbach
K. Idenheim/Meckel
L. Möhn
M. Mürlenbach
N. Nattenheim
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P. Tawern
Q. Trierweiler

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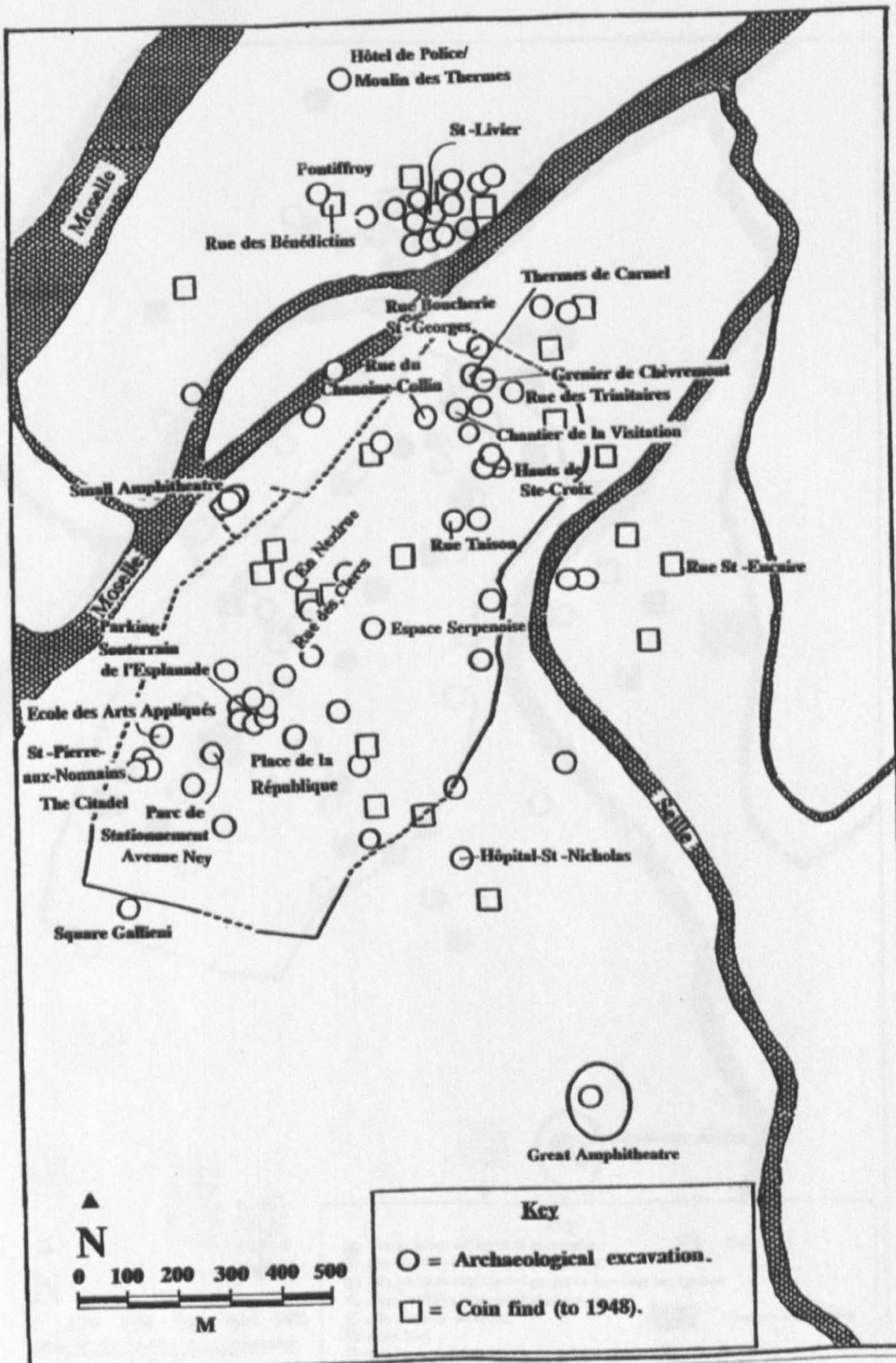

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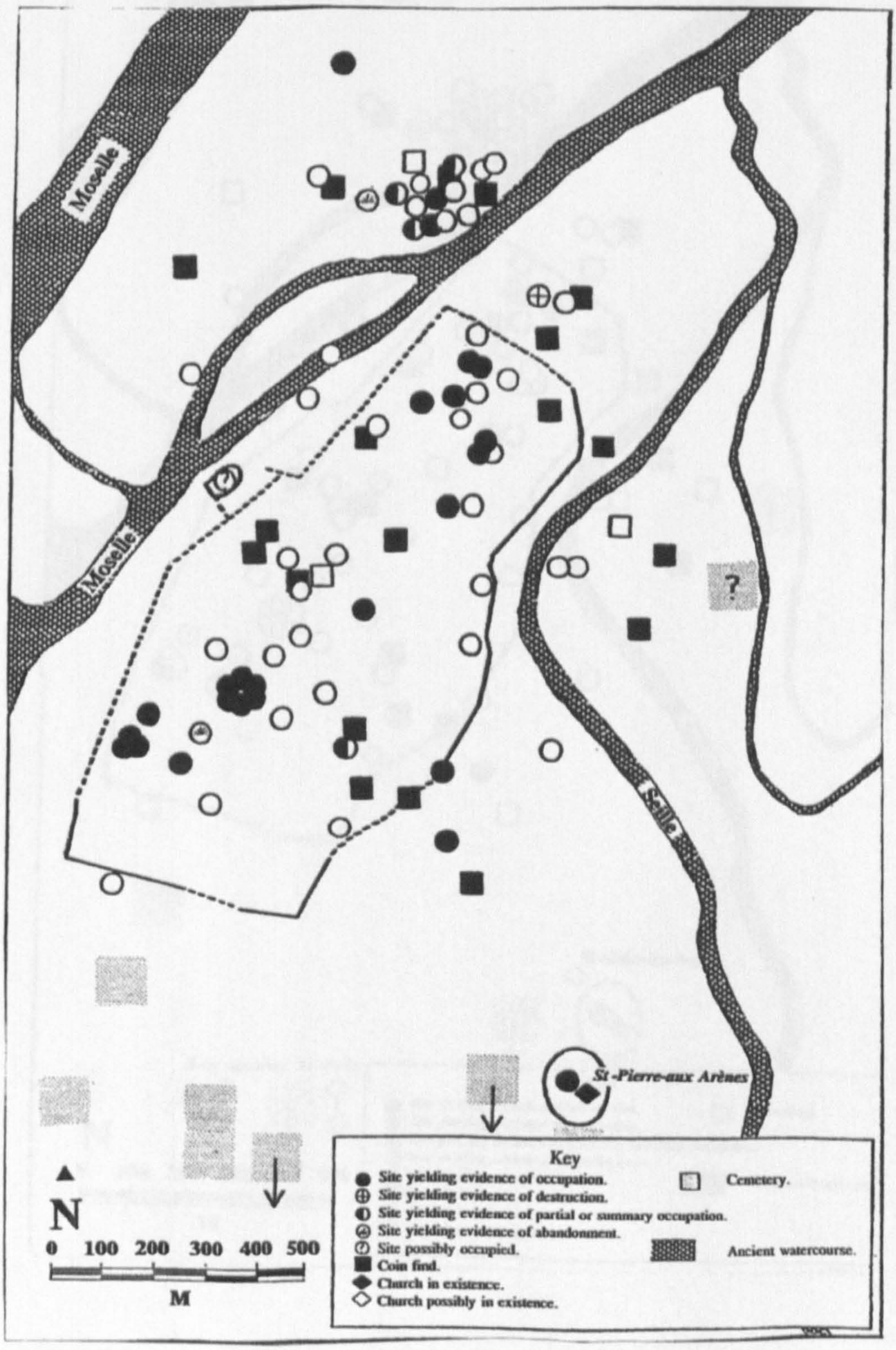

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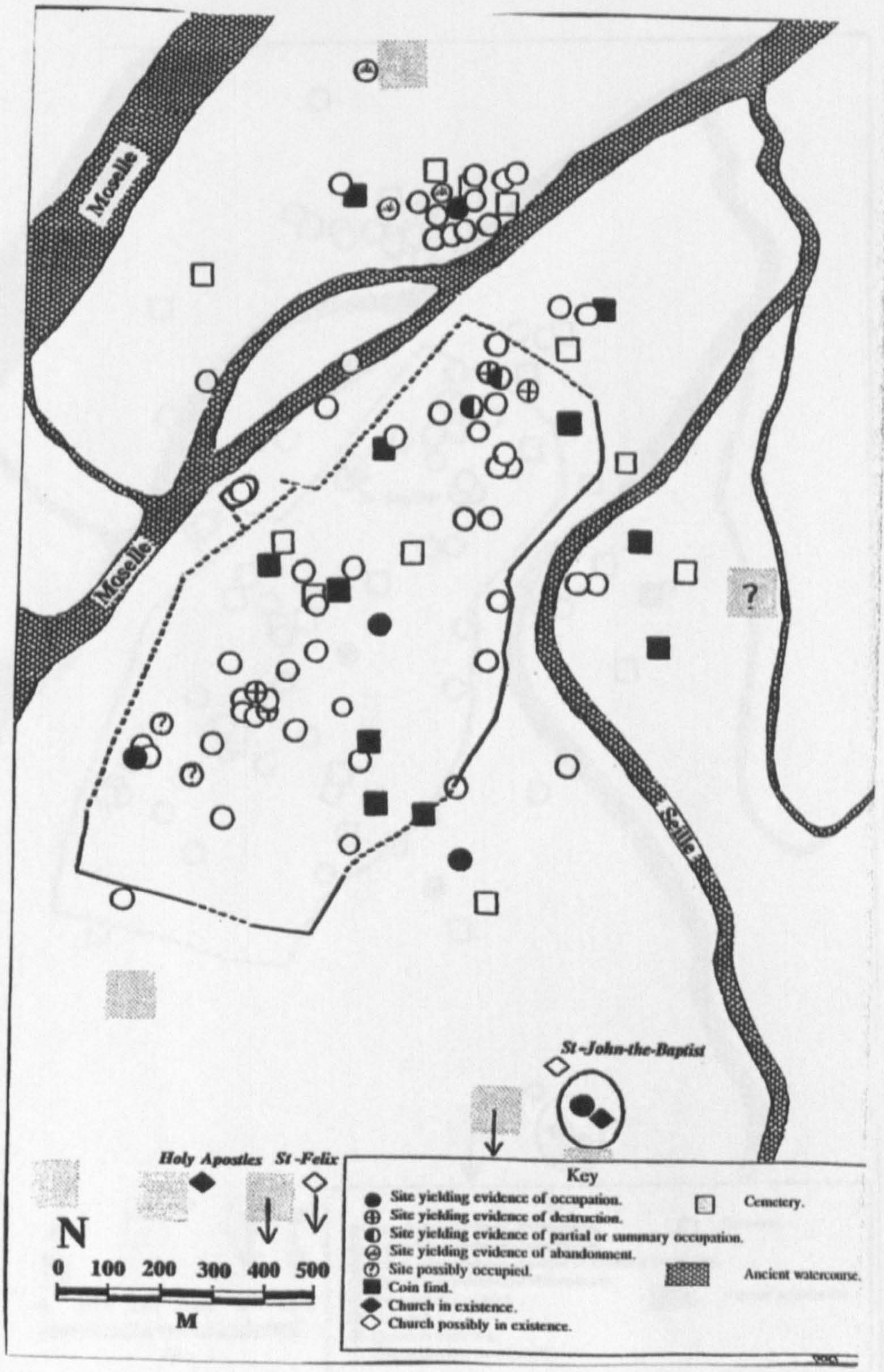

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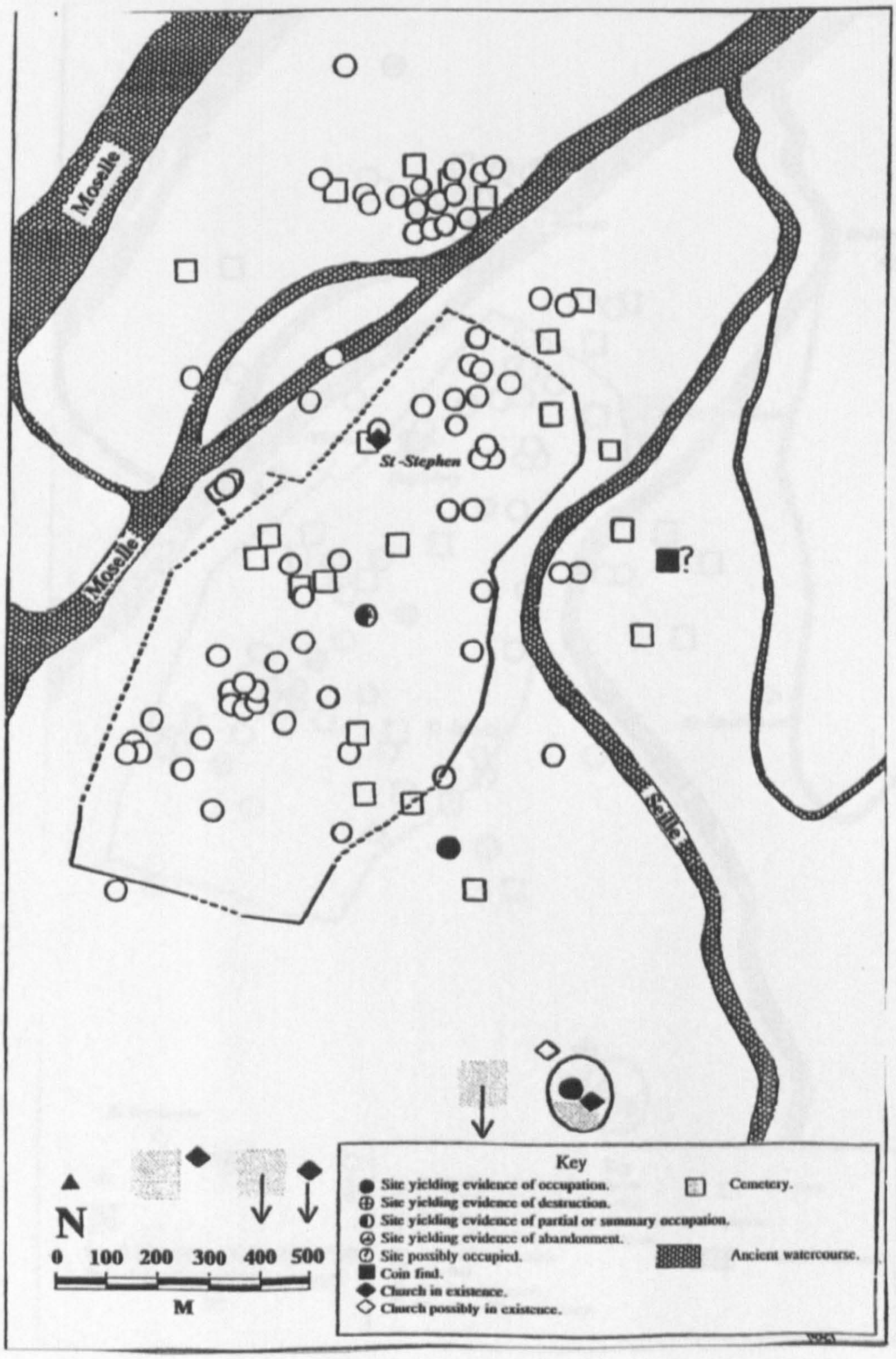

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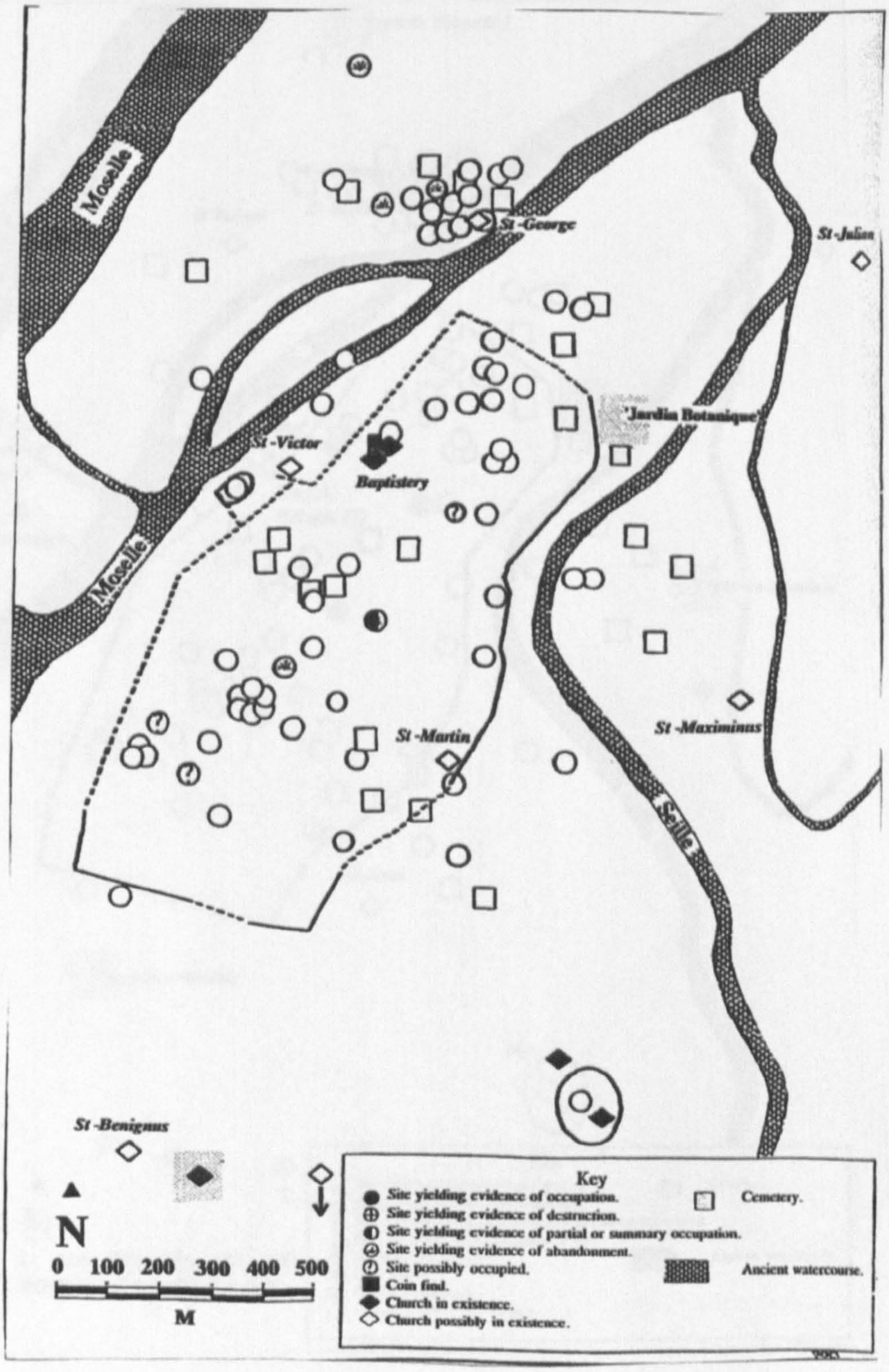

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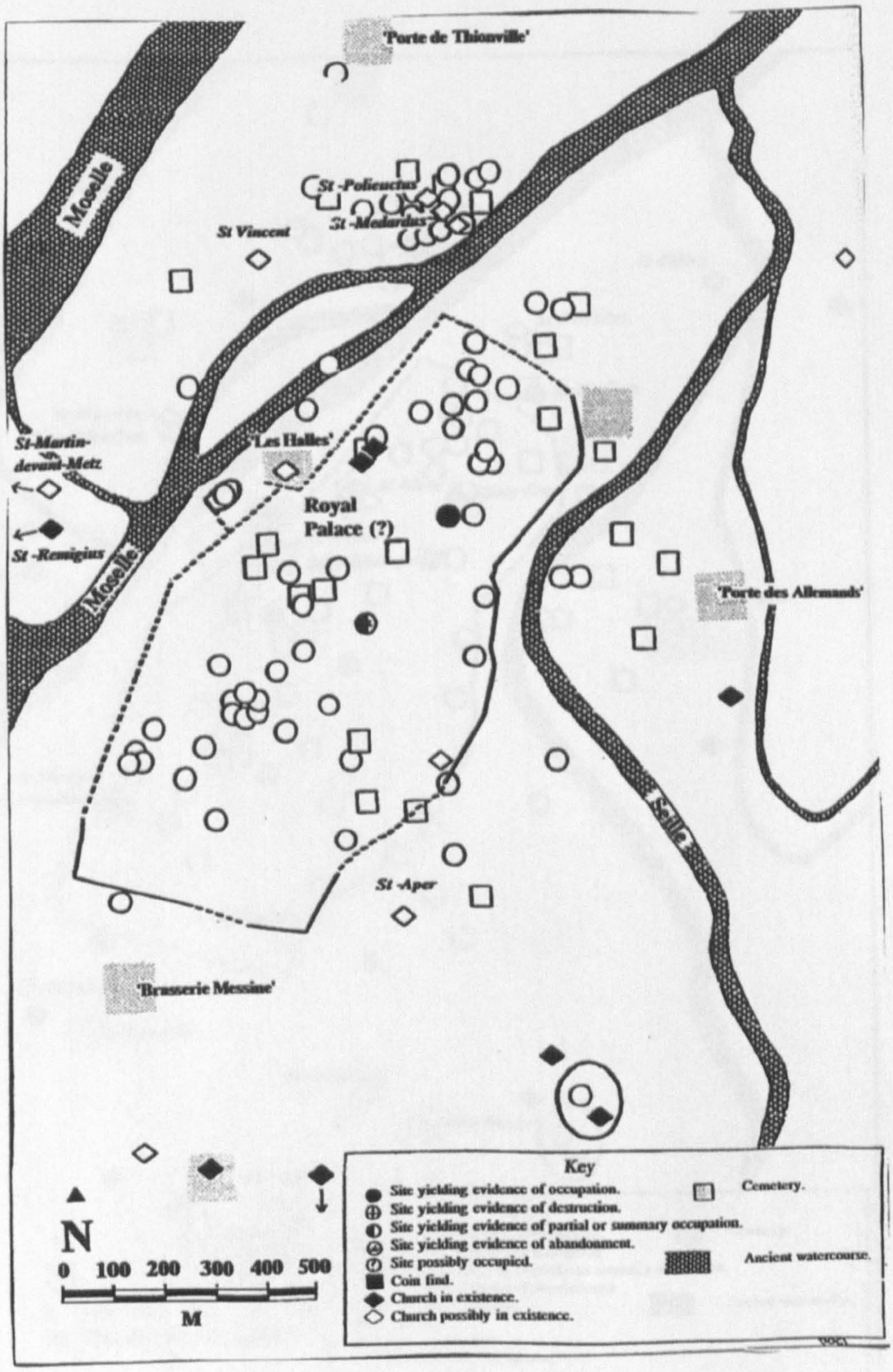

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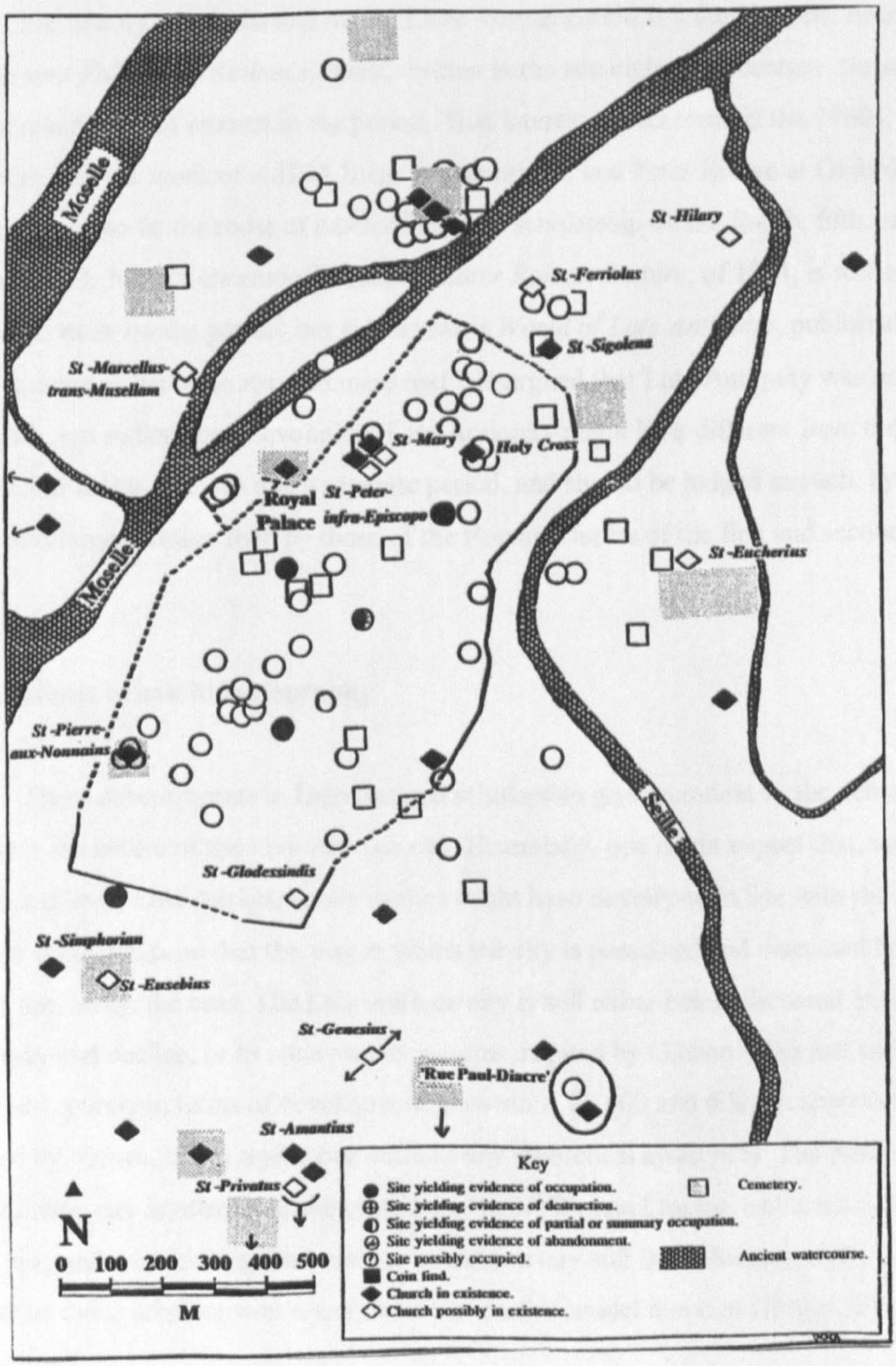

Introduction

The history of scholarship on the Later Roman period is a familiar one, from Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, written in the late eighteenth century, through to the present resurgence of interest in the period. That interest has its roots in the 1960s, in particular with the work of A.H.M Jones at Cambridge, and Peter Brown at Oxford, and in that decade or so lie the roots of much of modern scholarship on the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries A.D. Jones's enormously detailed *Later Roman Empire*, of 1964, is still quite rightly a standard work on the period, but it is Brown's *World of Late Antiquity*, published in 1971, which is perhaps the more revolutionary text. He argued that Late Antiquity was not a period of decline, but rather one of evolution; Late Antiquity might look different from the Roman Empire, but that is because it is a separate period, and should be judged as such, by its own terms of reference rather than by those of the Roman Empire of the first and second centuries A.D[1].

Late Antique urban historiography

These developments in Late Antique scholarship give a context to the debate, such as it is, over the nature of the Late Antique city. Essentially, one might expect that, on the theoretical level, Late Antique urban studies might have developed in line with the rest of Late Antique scholarship, so that the way in which the city is perceived and discussed has altered. This is not, sadly, the case. The Late Antique city is still either being discussed in terms of continuity and decline, or in other words in terms inspired by Gibbon's Decline and Fall thesis; or, at best, purely in terms of development between A.D. 400 and 600, an approach seemingly inspired by Brown, but in reality one without any theoretical awareness. The first looks at the Late Antique city in relation to the city of the "high" Roman Empire, and seeks to make a value judgement by looking for evidence of either a city still flourishing, or a city in decline; thus, even those scholars who reject the urban decline model found in Gibbon and A.H.M.

Jones are still taking part in a debate whose parameters were defined by Gibbon. Implicit in the idea of continuity must be that of decline, or continuity in itself makes little sense[2]. This is not to say, of course, that an approach which compares the Late Antique city to cities of earlier periods is an invalid one in itself; the problem lies in approaches which assume that the city must be seen in terms of decline because of prior assumptions about the nature of Late Antiquity. The second approach examines the Late Antique city as a much more static entity, usually province by province, or even city by city[3]. This, of course, avoids the difficulties of making value judgements, and asking whether or not any given city in Late Antiquity is the same as or worse than it was in earlier centuries. Equally, however, it avoids having to think to any great extent about wider historiographical issues, particularly the ways in which Late Antique society is assessed, and how it fits into wider pictures of periodisation and historical development. The one exception to these approaches, other than Cameron in a brief section in *The Mediterranean World in Late Antiquity*, in which she talks of "change", rather than "continuity" and "decline"[4], is the collection of articles edited by Christie and Loseby, which in its overall approach attempts to examine the city in terms of development from Late Antiquity into the Mediaeval world[5].

The picture is further complicated for this project by the debate over the nature of the Romano-British city. As this thesis will demonstrate, urban life in any sense other than sporadic occupation of the site of Roman towns, what Wacher has termed "life in towns" rather than "town life"[6], ended at some point in the fifth century[7]. In this case, it seems fair to talk of models of decline and collapse competing against the far rarer but currently more dominant models of continuity between Roman and Saxon cities. Exponents of the first point to the complete decay of all urban public buildings with the exception of the Baths-Basilica

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[1] Brown, 1971; see also Brown, 2000, for a review of changing scholarship on Late Antiquity in the intervening period.
[2] See, for example, Liebeschuetz, 1992; Ward-Perkins, 1998, 1996.
[3] See Harries, 1992a; Loseby, 1996; Halsall, 1996; Hunt, 1998.
[4] Cameron, 1993b, p.152-66.
[5] Christie and Loseby, 1996.
[6] Wacher, 1974, p.411.
[7] Exactly when is very difficult to date in the absence of new issues of coinage dating to later than 402, and in any case the evidence for final collapse varies from site to site.

complex at Wroxeter, and all but a few private residences. To this, they add the complete collapse of at least the buildings of the villa system[8]. Strangely, however, it is arguments in favour of continuity which are at present dominant in Romano-British studies. Scholars of both Roman Britain and Anglo-Saxon England have attempted to show that town sites were occupied seamlessly from the Roman period into the seventh century, largely because such an approach, as Loseby points out, both avoids the difficulty of having to explain what happened to the cities and why they disappeared, and fits the literary model presented by Gildas and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle of Anglo-Saxons physically conquering Roman cities and territories[9]. Continuity is asserted in a number of ways; Rodwell, for example, has taken the few examples of churches on Roman town sites, and attempted to show their continued use into the seventh century, deducing from this that city centres remained sites at which the power and authority were located[10]. Continued use of the Baths-Basilica complex at Wroxeter into at least the late fifth century has been taken as evidence that the site continued to function[11]. Dark has argued that the layers of dark earth found on Romano-British sites should be interpreted, despite the paucity of post-hole evidence for structures, not as evidence of disuse or agricultural activity, but as the remains of wooden buildings, and thus as an indication of continued occupation of the site[12].

Essentially, continuity is a very difficult concept to define. We must ask, firstly, what defines a town, and thus what features should we search for continuity of, and, secondly, how those features are represented in the archaeological record, since we have no textual record for Roman Britain. As the above discussion suggests, the terms of reference for debate about the Late Antique city have been badly formulated, so that the city in this period is misunderstood. The debate needs to move on from questions of decline or continuity, but in the case of Britain that cannot happen until it is established whether or not there is in fact any city in the Late Antique period: for Richard Reece, at least, if there ever was a city in Britain,

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[8] Esmonde Cleary, 1989; Millett, 1990; Reece, 1980, 1988, 1992.
[9] Loseby, 2000, p.344.
[10] Rodwell, 1984; Loseby, 2000, p.339.
[11] Barker *et alii*, 1997.
[12] Dark, 1994. Loseby, 2000, provides a useful summary of both sides of the debate.

then it no longer existed by even the fourth century[13]. In Britain, as the following chapters will demonstrate, the evidence for the very existence of any form of urban life in fourth and fifth century Britain is at best problematical, and thus lends itself readily to those on both sides of the debate. As ever, the problem is one of definition.

Defining the City

Many scholars, then, discuss the Late Antique city in terms of the decline or the apparent continuity of the classical city: a position which implicitly compares the Late Antique city to a supposed earlier pinnacle of urban development, and assumes that the terms of reference for that pinnacle apply to all cities of the classical world. Such a judgement, of course, presupposes that there is a single, static model for the classical city which must apply to the embryonic archaic *polis*, to fifth-century B.C. Athens, to Augustan Rome, and to any other Mediterranean or European urban entity of the period, broadly, from 800 B.C. to A.D. 600. Even if all these cities differ slightly, there must be certain key elements which overcome any differences due to geographical or chronological position within the classical world. This is, of course, an approach, an assumption even, for it often goes unquestioned, which owes an enormous debt to both Max Weber[14] and Moses Finley[15]. Both argued that it is, in many ways, a city which defines a society, and thus they looked for models which would allow them to characterise classical and mediaeval cities so that they could draw a distinction between the two, and thus explain why the middle ages differed from antiquity. Simplistically, the ancient city took goods from its hinterland and consumed them, returning little, while the mediaeval city was a producer, effectively paying for what it took in services and, importantly, manufactured goods. This allowed economic development, rather than the industrial stagnation of the classical period. Such an approach relies upon enormous generalisations; for it to function it must be assumed that the classical city did not significantly change between its birth in, probably, the eighth century B.C. and its death in perhaps the fifth century A.D., a

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[13] Reece, 1980; 1988, Set 1 and Trans 1; 1992.
[14] Weber, 1958.

period of 1300 years. Certainly, this is an approach which fails the Late Antique city on two counts: firstly, it fails to allow the Late Antique city to differ from the Roman *civitas*, let alone from the Greek *polis*; and, secondly, in insisting upon a dividing line between the classical and the mediaeval, it leaves no room for a city which arguably, in common with the rest of the social institutions of Late Antiquity, has elements of both the Roman and mediaeval worlds.

What, then, is a city? If we are to examine the city in Late Antiquity we must decide what to look for, and ask whether it is possible to judge that city as differing from the Roman, classical, city. Are there certain elements to urban life which are, however faintly, applicable to cities in any culture? Or must we redefine the city for every society which we might choose to examine? Both are approaches with their own dangers. The first begins to move towards the kind of static, unchanging, standard which I have already discussed and which is so inflexible, while the second implies the assumption that every society must have a city, and that some form of settlement in every culture must be designated urban. Weber, at least, tried to find a route through this maze: he put in place a static definition, arguing that a city is characterised by its economic relationship with its hinterland, but at the same time allowing that relationship to vary in nature; the ancient city was a consumer, while the mediaeval was a producer. Thus, even while we might choose to disagree with Weber's periodisation, his method does allow cities to differ from period to period within set parameters, allowing the historian to avoid the extreme relativism of a position that sees urban form in every society without ever judging whether or not that form deserves the designation urban. While I would reject Weber's definition of the relationship between city and hinterland as the key difference between different types of city, as well as his insistence upon a single entity known as the classical city, I would accept his methodology; a definition of a city must have established criteria, a value judgement, somewhere, but it must also be fluid enough to allow difference between societies. It is worth stating at this point that I regard the Roman distinctions in city status – *colonia*, *municipia*, and *civitas* capitals – as irrelevant. While tax obligations varied between types, and obviously they varied in their charters, living in or close to a *municipium* cannot have been any

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[15] Finley, 1981; 1985, Ch. 5.

different to living in a *civitas*[16]. The essential roles played by the city do not vary because the name varies.

For me, then, a city is an institution which fulfils certain key roles within a society. For a settlement to be regarded as urban, those roles must be performed, but their nature may vary according to the nature of the society within which the city exists. A city must perform an administrative role, offering government and justice to a greater or smaller area; it must also have some permanent physical infrastructure, rather than being an occasional or peripatetic centre; it should have an economic aspect, functioning as a central market to a surrounding area; and there should be a religious role, although one might ask how far this is still applicable to the European city of the twenty-first century. All act as a draw to population, although population size in itself is not an indication of urban status; indeed, many of those drawn to a city need not be resident there, for all that their lives revolve around the city. For the classical city, the key to each urban role was the interest and behaviour of the elite, so that the *civitas* became in many ways the forum for elite activity and the physical expression of elite status. Elite money was centred upon the city, so here was the market, drawing both local farmers and merchants from further afield[17]. Religion, in the form of both local and imperial cult, afforded an opportunity for the elite to emphasise their privileged relationship with the divine and to parade their wealth and status[18], reinforcing the social order as a reminder to the lower classes. Participation in the administration of the city was regarded as both the duty and the privilege of the elite; their aim was to dominate urban affairs[19]. All these together gave the Roman city its character and in particular its physical appearance[20]. Conspicuous expenditure on games, festivals, feasts and buildings, together with the inscriptions recording such generosity, was at once a means of showing and maintaining identity, wealth and status, *and* a way of attracting the support which allowed political advancement. The result can still be seen in the ruins of Roman cities throughout Europe: even in the more distant provinces of the

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[16] Reece, 1988, Set p.71. On the formal distinctions between different types of cities, see Wacher, 1971, ch.1.
[17] Finley, 1985, ch. 6; Stambaugh, 1988, ch. 9.
[18] See Beard, North, and Price, 1998; Wardman, 1986.
[19] Finley, 1985, p.124.
[20] Laurence, 1994, p.20.

Empire, the monumental heart of the city was full of grand, stone-built edifices. Theatres, temples, fora, grand town houses; the list goes on and on.

And herein lies the problem. In the Late Antique period, certainly in the west of the Empire, many of these monuments were allowed to fall into decay and even ruin, allowing the argument that the cities were in decline, mere shadows of their former glorious selves. To accept this line of argument, of course, is to judge the Late Antique city by Classical standards. A more convincing approach is to suggest that, just as society had undergone change between the second and fourth centuries A.D., so had the city. Its physical appearance changed, but arguably this reflects not decline but a change in the relationship of the elite with the city.

Barbarians and the City

A key part of some explanations which argue for the decline of the city lays some of the blame for that decline at the door of the Germanic barbarians who began to appear in Gaul from the late third century onwards[21]. A case in point is Guy Halsall's otherwise admirable work on Metz: as will be seen in later chapters, there is little evidence archaeologically for anything other than what has been traditionally argued to be a cathedral site within the walls of Metz; almost the only signs of occupation are to be found beyond the walls in the suburbs[22]. Nevertheless, the late sixth century bishop Gregory of Tours and the fifth century Spanish chronicler Hydatius both insist that Metz was sacked by Attila's Huns in Easter 451:

> The Huns migrated from Pannonia and laid waste the countryside as they advanced. They came to the town of Metz, so people say, on Easter Eve. They burned the town to the ground, slaughtered the populace with the sharp edge of their swords and killed the priests of the lord in front of their holy altars. No building in the town remained unburnt except the oratory of Saint Stephen, Levite and first martyr.[23]

Halsall places himself in the position, then, of explaining both the lack of an occupied city to be captured in this way, and a complete absence of evidence of any kind of destruction, let alone the razing of the complete city described by Gregory. The second issue he ignores,

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[21] There is no space here for an account of the influx of these peoples. See Wallace-Hadrill, 1985.
[22] Halsall, 1995, p.228.
[23] *History of the Franks*, 2.6. See also Hydatius, *Chronicle* 100-1.

presumably since there simply is not an explanation for the disparity between archaeological and textual evidence; the first is argued in terms of Hunnic sack of the suburbs[24], an argument hardly borne out by Gregory. For this explanation to work, since Gregory is so explicit that it was the city itself which was sacked rather than its outlying areas, city and suburb would have to have become synonymous in the Late Antique mind, and there is simply no evidence that this is the case. Indeed, as will be seen in Chapter 5, Christian writers were, through the course of the fifth century, putting more and more emphasis upon the city walls, which of course separated not only city and countryside, but also city proper and suburbs, as the boundaries of the Christian community and the limits of the bishop's authority. Far more convincing, however, is the line of argument taken up by Halsall, briefly, in the footnote to discussion of this point: Gregory's story of the sack of Metz is much more a literary topos with its roots in biblical accounts of the destruction of cities than it is a factual account. Gregory continues his account of the sack of Metz by recounting the dream of a citizen of Metz, who, claims Gregory, saw St. Stephen intervening with the apostles Peter and Paul for the safety of Metz. The answer given is uncompromising, and reminiscent of, for example, God's destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah[25], or of the list of cities given in the Book of Amos, including Damascus and Gaza[26], as punishment for the sins of the inhabitants:

> "Go in peace, beloved brother," answered the Apostles, "for your oratory alone will escape the flames. As for the town, we can do nothing, for the judgement of God has already been passed on it. The evil-doing of the inhabitants has reached such a point that the reverberation of their wickedness has already come to God's ears. The town must therefore be burnt to the ground."[27]

It is particularly telling that fire receives such emphasis as the means of destruction of the city, rather than the hands of the barbarians: the cities of the Old Testament, so deserving of divine punishment, were all consumed by flame. Gregory's aim was not to relate fact, but to educate his audience: the ideal city should be a community of good Christians, and if it failed in this, then it could expect to be punished by God. It is a matter of Christian ideal rather than of historical fact, which is not to say that the Huns did not reach Metz, but that the details of

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[24] Halsall, 1995, p.230.
[25] Genesis, 18-19.
[26] Amos, 1-2.

their activities there were, crudely, invented by Gregory in order to suit the moral of his story, the story itself shaped around an Old Testament model for added emphasis. The Germanic presence in Late Antique Gaul should thus not be associated with the sack of cities.

Methodology

This thesis sets out to examine urban life in Northern Gaul and Britain in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., and in so doing answer three key questions:

i) Is there urban life in these areas in this period?

ii) If so, what does it look like? Does its nature change in this period, and, if so, should it be categorised as decline or evolution?

iii) If the nature of urban life does change in this period, why?

In a project of this length, there are two obvious approaches. Firstly, it is possible to offer a very general picture, which relies greatly upon generalisation and which thus runs the risk of invalidation by reference to the specifics, even within this comparatively small part of the Roman Empire, of a particular city. Secondly, one might present an in depth evaluation of a particular city, which, while detailed, could never answer the broader questions outlined above, since the conclusions drawn could only, within the scope of that kind of project, apply to one city. I have attempted a third approach, by combining the better points of both the other approaches. Thus, this thesis concentrates upon four cities; Verulamium[28] and Cirencester in Britain, and Trier and Metz in Gaul. The aim is that by using a small group of cities, this thesis can be sufficiently detailed, while also offering a more over-arching picture which answers wider questions. In examining these cities, four areas will be analysed; the city as a concept, a peg on which writers could hang their discussion; the city as a place in which people lived; the city as a forum for political activity; and the city as a centre for religion. It is felt that these four urban functions give a city its character, and allow discussion not only of the physical city, but also of its place in the minds of the people whose lives revolved around it. It may be objected, especially given the quantity of Finley-inspired scholarship on the

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[27] *History of the Franks*, 2.6.

economy of the city, that the city as a market deserves separate consideration[29]. I think, however, that the market function of a city is secondary to other considerations, primarily the presence of the elite. The elite of a pre-industrial society control the majority of disposable income, derived from their control of agricultural surplus. Thus, wherever they go, the market follows them, and the lower classes follow the market. As argued above, the ancient city was a physical representation of the activities of the elite; change in its appearance or function must follow change in the behaviour of the noble classes of Roman society. Changing patterns of elite behaviour, therefore, may be reflected in the economy of the city, but it is in the usual spheres of elite activity – religion, politics, and literature – that the historian may analyse those changing patterns. If the city's economic function changes, the reasons for this change must be sought in other areas.

The question of why choose northern Gaul and Britain is easily answered. A certain amount of work has been done in recent years on the cities of the Eastern Roman Empire[30] and Italy[31] in Late Antiquity. Gaul has attracted very little attention from scholars working in English, with the exception of articles by Loseby on the cities of the south[32], Harries' more general work on Christianity and the Gallic city[33], and Halsall's work on Metz[34]. While this last is both detailed and sophisticated in its approach, it gives no sense of wider debates on the nature of Late Antique urbanism in the region. In addition, there are the excellent studies of the development of a Christian sense of community in Late Antique Gaul by Van Dam and Klingshirn[35], but of these only the first half of Van Dam's book deals with the fifth century; their concentration is substantially upon the sixth. Thus, Gaul in general, and northern Gaul in particular, has received no lengthy consideration. Britain's cities, and the unending debate about their continuity after c.400, have been the focus of much more attention, but nobody has

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[28] While all other cities will be referred to by their modern names, Roman Verulamium lies a short distance from modern St. Albans, and thus deserves a separate designation.

[29] See, for example, Finley, 1985, ch.5; Garnsey and Whittaker, 1998; Hodges, 1989 and 2000; Morley 1996 and 1997; Parkins 1997; Whittaker, 1983. These constitute only a starting point.

[30] See, for example, Liebeschuetz, 1972; Haas, 1997; Hunt, 1982, ch.6; Roueche, 1989.

[31] Krautheimer, 1980; Christie, 2000; La Rocca, 1992; Ward-Perkins, 1984.

[32] 1992 and 1996.

[33] 1978 and 1992.

[34] 1995 and 1996.

[35] Van Dam, 1985; Klingshirn, 1994.

placed them in the context of developments elsewhere in the Empire. In addition, no-one has managed to produce a persuasive explanation for the end of the Romano-British city[36]. Thus, there is scope for an account of urban change in northern Gaul and Britain, two comparative areas on the northern fringe of the Roman Empire, in the fourth and fifth centuries.

The choice of the cities is somewhat more complex. Ideally, they should be typical of the cities of northern Gaul and Britain, representative of all cities in these regions, so that the conclusions drawn from them would be easily applicable to their neighbours. Sadly, this cannot be so: there is no such thing as a typical city. Each is different, with differing patterns of development in this period. Cirencester and Verulamium have both been well-excavated, and the results extremely well-published; thus, they are good choices for a project of this type, which aims not to re-evaluate the excavation of any particular city in any great detail, but to produce broader conclusions. Trier and Metz have not been as well-excavated, nor have the results of excavations been as comprehensively published, but they commend themselves on the basis that for both cities there is excellent scholarship in English.

The final choice to discuss is that of the time period. In terms of a cohesive methodology, consideration of the sixth century was pointless: the Romano-British city did not survive the fifth century, with the result that for the sixth century there is no valid point of comparison between Gaul and Britain[37]. In pragmatic terms, while the sixth century in Gaul is hugely interesting, there is simply not scope for its inclusion in a project of this length. There is also the objection to be dealt with that the time period 300-500 is somewhat arbitrary, and that historical development does not carefully confine itself to periods of one hundred years. This is quite true, but any cut-off, for whatever reason, is ultimately an arbitrary one. Given the concentration of this project, then, upon roughly the fourth and fifth centuries, the inclusion of

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[36] See Esmonde Cleary, 1989; Reece, 1980; 1988 Trans 1; 1992 for the best attempts to do so.

[37] It might, of course, be said that the first Anglo-Saxon towns would provide an interesting comparison with the Romano-Frankish cities of sixth century Gaul. The reasons for rejecting this are three-fold: that this is a step too far for a project of this size if any detail is to remain; that the existence of Anglo-Saxon towns before the seventh century is doubtful (see, for example, Hodges, 2000, ch.3; Loseby, 2000a; Ottaway, 1992, ch.5; Roskams, 1996) and that the decision not to include the Anglo-Saxon city reflects the division between the Roman and Anglo-Saxon periods in scholarship and in the majority of university departments. Departments of Classics and Ancient History, while they might countenance the study of Byzantium or of sixth century Rome, regard the Anglo-Saxons as the province of Mediaeval History.

the Sermons of Caesarius of Arles may seem strange. His reign as bishop of Arles lasted from 502 until 542, and his Sermons date from this period. None of the evidence, however, and particularly not the archaeological evidence, fits neatly into chronological boundaries; it is simply not possible to be this exact, and to attempt to be exact merely confirms the impression of the construction of arbitrary boundaries.

The other conflict between the scope of this thesis and the contemporary literary evidence available is that, while the thesis focuses upon northern Gaul and Britain, the literature was written by men who lived throughout the entirety of Gaul. So far as Britain goes, nothing can be done about this, save to exercise extreme caution in applying conclusions drawn from Gallic literature to the, arguably very different, situation in Britain. There are brief mentions of Britain, in Ammianus Marcellinus[38], in the sixth century work of Zosimus[39], and in Constantius' *Vita* of St. Germanus[40]. These, however, even combined with the mid-sixth century work of the British native Gildas, do not give even a vague picture of fourth and fifth century Britain. In the case of Gaul, the picture is much fuller, but the literature is not exclusively northern Gallic. This, though, is something of a red herring; the authors in question may have been normally resident in a particular city or region, but this is not to say that they never travelled, or that they were immune from the influence of other regions.

A more significant danger is that of teleology, particularly in the case of the British cities. A knowledge of the end point of the city, in other words its final disappearance, can lead one to assess the evidence only in this light. Any disintegrating building, any patched mosaic floor can, if one is careless, be used only to illustrate the decline of the city, rather than evaluated on its own terms. It should be self-evident that any Roman city, of whatever period, had periods in which buildings fell down or were abandoned for a time, simply because the needs of the city had changed for a time and that building was no longer relevant. The danger is that, in Late Antique scholarship, especially in the case of Britain, these patterns of urban change are always interpreted only in light of the end point of the city when they may be completely incidental. One example of an excavator forcing the evidence to fit a preconceived

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[38] *Res Gestae*, 27
[39] *New History*, 7.2,5-7.

model comes from the work of the Victorian archaeologist T. Wright, who, evidently in the belief that Roman Britain was destroyed by Saxon invaders, wrote of Wroxeter:

> Our excavations have proved beyond a doubt that the town was taken by force, that a frightful massacre of the inhabitants followed and that it was then plundered and burnt. Remains of men, women and children are found everywhere scattered among the ruins, and the traces of burning are not only met with in all parts of them, but the whole of the soil within the walls of the ancient city is blackened by it to such a degree as to present a very marked contrast to the lighter colour of the earth outside[41].

Wroxeter is usually held up by its modern excavator, Barker, as an example of the longevity of Roman cities. As Ottaway points out, Wright appears to have discovered a post-Roman cemetery on the site of the Roman baths[42]: such was his certainty that the towns were destroyed by the Saxons that he interpreted all evidence on the site in the light of this mistaken model. Scholars of the Late Antique city elsewhere in the Empire are not immune from such errors, either. Evidence is far too often interpreted to demonstrate decline or continuity, according to the preconceptions of the scholar in question, rather than judged on its own merits[43]. The Late Antique city, of whatever region, cannot be properly judged while certain teleologies exert such a strong hold over scholarship.

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[40] *Life of St. Germanus*, 14-18.
[41] Wright, 1872, p.68, doubtless influenced by a reading of Gildas, 24.3-4.
[42] Ottaway, 1992, p.118.
[43] See for example, Ward-Perkins, 1998. This otherwise admirable article is too dominated by the desire to demonstrate that the cities of the Late Antique West experienced continuity rather than decline, and interprets all evidence in the light of this desire.

Chapter 1: Constructing the City

Just as the Roman world revolved in its daily operation around the city, so the city occupied a key space in Roman thought. It was a concept embedded in the Roman consciousness, and this remains true in the Late Antique period; whatever physical changes the city was undergoing, and whatever the role it was playing within society, Christian writers in particular continued to give the concept of the city a central place in their work. Under the influence both of Biblical notions of morality and of a Judaeo-Christian tradition of the city as an evil place, however, that conceptual city was changing. The presence of the Judaeo-Christian tradition in fourth and fifth century Gallic writings can cause particular problems for the historian: an incautious reading of a text can lead the historian into drawing conclusions about the nature of the city, and especially its destruction (as discussion in the Introduction of the problems of assuming a destructive barbarian presence shows), which are based upon misunderstanding of the role of the city in Gallic Christian texts.

A more careful reading of the Late Antique Gallic authors, then, rather than the traditional search of texts by historians for useful "facts", reveals that the city, just as in earlier periods, was still so much a part of the Gallo-Roman mindset that it could be a useful tool for Christian authors. An exploration of the ways in which the city was constructed in the writings of fourth and fifth century Gaul, therefore, is both interesting in its own right, and valuable as a corrective to those historians who would take seemingly factual accounts at face value[1], and who thus fail to see the way in which the Late Antique city was in part a literary construction.

The Roman urban literary tradition

The city played a key role in Roman thought throughout the Republican and Imperial periods, taking on the part of both hero and villain in one of the great ambiguities of the Roman mindset[2], both admired and reviled, the merits of town and countryside set against each other in constant conflict. Indeed, young Romans were often set the task

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[1] See, for example, in addition to Halsall, 1995, Halsall, 1996, p.248; Harries, 1992, p.81; Wallace-Hadrill, 1985, p.29.

[2] See Edwards, 1996, for a much more comprehensive study of the literary construction of the city in the Republican and early imperial periods. Sadly, no comparable work has been done on the literary construction of the city in fourth and fifth century Gaul.

of comparing the two[3], conditioned by their education to continue the ambiguity of Roman attitudes towards the city. In almost all cases, the concept of the city was represented by Rome itself; for all that modern scholars recognise that Rome was an exception among the cities of the ancient world[4], Roman authors saw that one city as representing all cities, a shining example of what a city could and should be. Other cities appear only occasionally; only Troy and Carthage concerned Roman authors on a regular basis[5], and this only in a role subordinate to that of Rome, an idea which will be considered below.

Those who saw the city in a positive light saw urban life as the ultimate in civilised behaviour. For Sallust, for example, the city was a civilising influence, and was thus, by implication, the pinnacle of civilisation:

> The city of Rome, as far as I can make out, was founded and first inhabited by Trojan exiles who, led by Aeneas, were wandering without a settled home, and by rustic natives who lived in a state of anarchy uncontrolled by laws or government. When once they had come to live together in a walled town, despite different origins, languages, and habits of life, they coalesced with amazing ease, and before long what had been a heterogenous mob of migrants was welded into a united nation.[6]

This is a theme picked up by Livy, who saw the development of Roman civilisation as a series of urban stages, culminating in the perfection of Rome. His account begins with the fall of Troy, and the flight of Aeneas to Italy; joining forces with the people of the town of Laurentum, he built an urban settlement, named Lavinium. The story continues through the foundation of Alba Longa, the rape of the Vestal Virgin Rhea Silvia which resulted in the birth of Romulus and Remus, and their foundation of Rome[7]. Earliest Roman history, then, conceived of as an urban history; man seen in terms of his type of settlement, as an urban animal. For Livy, the ideal man was conceived of as a citizen; in other words, someone whose life revolved around the city. His *History* offers huge numbers of *exempla* of men behaving as the ideal citizen should: Cincinnatus, for example, giving up the modest rural life which he preferred to return to Rome as dictator in the city's hour of need (and of course surrendering the post when the danger had passed)[8]; the knights volunteering to serve with their own horses, or, in other words, at their own expense, for the good of Rome, after the

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[3] Edwards, 1996, p.19.
[4] See, for example, Morley, 1996; Coulston and Dodge, 2000; Robinson, 1994.
[5] Edwards, 1996, chapter 2.
[6] *Conspiracy of Catiline*, 6.
[7] *Early History of Rome*, 1.1-6.
[8] *Early History of Rome*, 3.26.

reverse at Veii[9]; or Gaius Fabius Dorsuo slipping through the lines of besieging Gauls to perform the annual sacrifice on the Quirinal hill[10], and thus demonstrating respect for both tradition and Roman religion. In each case, the emphasis is upon the city as a political community rather than upon the city as a physical place; the importance of the site of Rome itself, as the place in which the community operated, is shown by Camillus' passionate speech against the proposal to move Rome to Veii[11]. In all these cases, and in many others throughout Livy's work, citizens put their duty to their city before all other considerations. Livy thus emphasised the primacy of the urban community, for if the ideal citizen puts the city before anything else, then the city itself is, by implication, placed upon a pinnacle.

Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that Cincinnatus was to be found in the countryside. While Livy and Sallust saw the city as the ideal form of settlement, other authors saw the city as a den of decadence and vice, and urban life as a decline away from the rural idyll which they saw as preceding the foundation of Rome[12], and which must have some relationship with the notion that the only honourable occupation for the free man, as well as the only honourable source of wealth, was agriculture, or, more specifically, the cultivation of one's own land:

> First of all, those occupations are unsuitable which incur the odium of other people, such as tax-collecting and money-lending. Also unsuitable and vulgar are the occupations of all those who work for hire, who are paid for their labour rather than for their skills; for their very wage is a sign of their servitude. The people who buy [goods] from merchants for immediate sale must also be considered vulgar; they would not make any profit without lying to some extent; and there is nothing as disgraceful as misrepresentation. And all craftsmen are engaged in a vulgar trade; for no workshop is in any way worthy of a free man. And the least respectable trades are those which minister to pleasure... of all the occupations by which gains are made, none is better than agriculture, none more profitable, none more delightful, none more fitting for a free man.[13]

It is noticeable that many of those professions criticised by Cicero might be considered urban occupations. Shopkeepers and merchants traded in the main from cities; tax-collecting and money-lending was centred upon cities. It has been argued that, for Cicero, the small agricultural community was the ideal, standing as it did in his imagination as an intermediate stage of contentment between the savage past of

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[9] *Early History of Rome*, 5.27.
[10] *Early History of Rome*, 5.46.
[11] *Early History of Rome*, 5.30.
[12] It is, perhaps, interesting to note that Richard Reece subscribes to a very Roman view of pre-urban society as a "Golden Age" (1988, Set 1). Undoubtedly, this colours his view of the Roman city in Britain.
[13] Cicero, *De officiis*, 1.150-151.

the hunter-gatherer and the decadent future of the city[14]. It is a sentiment echoed by Virgil, particularly in the *Georgics* and the *Eclogues*, and by many of the agronomists, all of whom praise the virtues of the countryside and of traditional Roman small-holding[15].

Views of the city of greater complexity than the virtuous countryside – decadent city dichotomy or its opposite are to be found in the portrayal of cities other than Rome. Troy had an important part to play, as did Carthage, and, upon occasion, Alexandria. Alexandria was viewed with disquiet, as the seat of the eastern decadence which was viewed as the antithesis of Roman, western, virtue, the two placed in opposition by Virgil's presentation of the battle of Actium[16]. An author wishing to tarnish the reputation of a particular politician – Mark Antony, Julius Caesar, Caligula and Nero were all at various times accused of this[17] - might accuse him of wishing to move the capital of the Roman world to Alexandria. Thus, that politician was not only betraying glorious Rome itself, but submitting to the decadent, oriental, and very un-Roman, values which Alexandria represented. Alexandria's role was as a counterpoint to Rome, the antithesis of the values which Rome represented. The role of Carthage, traditional enemy of Rome since the First Punic War, was slightly different: while always an implacable enemy whose development boded ill for Rome[18], Carthage was also deemed a necessary check upon Rome and upon the excesses consequent upon prosperity[19]. Fear of Carthage, in Sallust's words, "preserved the good morals of the state"[20]. The position of Troy is even less negative: of enormous importance as the place of origin of Aeneas, it could be regarded as the ancestor of Rome. Herein, of course, lay both a problem and an opportunity: while Troy could be figured as the precursor of Rome, Troy had fallen, and thus was not necessarily a good model for Rome to follow. At the same time, if Rome could avoid and learn from the mistakes of Troy, Rome could flourish; Rome was only doomed if it ignored its Roman identity and took on a Trojan one[21]. In each case, the role played by the city is dependent upon its relationship with Rome, the ideal city.

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[14] Vasaly, 1993, p.139-40.
[15] See Percival, 1976, p.25-7 for an overview of the concerns of the agronomists.
[16] *Aeneid* 8.675-706.
[17] Edwards, 1996, p.19.
[18] Livy, *The Early History of Rome*, 4.30.
[19] Ogilvie's introduction to de Sélincourt's translation of Livy, *The Early History of Rome*, p.10; Sallust, *Catiline*, 9.1-3; Sallust, *Jugurtha*, 41.2.
[20] *Catiline*, 9.1.
[21] Edwards, 1996, p.63-66; Virgil, *Aeneid*, 12.826-8; Horace, *Carm.*, 3.3.57-64.

The Judaeo-Christian literary tradition

Conflicting, if nevertheless largely negative, views of the city are found also in the Judaic and early Christian literary traditions[22]. Indeed, the Christian view of the development of mankind sees man as falling away, through the sin of Adam and Eve, from the perfection of a rural idyll; the Garden of Eden. In Judaeo-Christian thinking, just as in Cicero's, the golden age of man is to be found in a rural paradise[23]. The sin of Adam, who ate the forbidden fruit, is believed to live on in all men – hence the need for baptism – as a constant reminder of the paradise that was lost. Set against this in the Old Testament is the view of the city as evil. In Sodom and Gomorrah not even fifty righteous people could be found, and the evil compounded their sin by attacking the angels of God:

> Then the Lord rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven; And he overthrew those cities, and all the plain, and all the inhabitants of the cities, and that which grew upon the ground... And Abraham gat up early in the morning to the place where he stood before the Lord: And he looked toward Sodom and Gomorrah, and toward all the land of the plain, and beheld, and, lo, the smoke of the country went up as the smoke of a furnace.[24]

Similar stories can be found in the Book of Amos: cities whose inhabitants were guilty of unrighteous behaviour were punished with fire and destruction. For example:

> Thus saith the Lord; For three transgressions of Gaza, and for four, I will not turn away *the punishment* thereof; because they carried away captive the whole captivity, to deliver *them* up to Edom: But I will send a fire on the wall of Gaza, which shall devour the palaces thereof: And I will cut off the inhabitant from Ashdod, and him that holdeth the sceptre from Ashkelon, and I will turn mine hand against Ekron: and the remnant of the Philistines shall perish, saith the Lord God.[25]

Better known than the punishment of Gaza is, of course, the reprieve of Nineveh through the agency of Jonah. God, displeased by the evil of the citizens of Nineveh, sent Jonah to preach to them and warn them of the threat of God's punishment. This, eventually, Jonah did:

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[22] It is important to remember, of course, that the first Christians were writing in a Roman world, and thus must have been as influenced by their Roman educations as by their Judaic roots. Separating the two influences in the first two centuries after the death of Christ is a complex process, and one beyond the scope of this thesis.
[23] Genesis, 1-3.
[24] Genesis, 19.25-28.
[25] Amos, 1.6-8.

So Jonah arose, and went into Nineveh, according to the word of the Lord. Now Nineveh was an exceeding great city of three days' journey. And Jonah began to enter into the city a day's journey, and he cried, and said, Yet forty days and Nineveh shall be overthrown. So the people of Nineveh believed God, and proclaimed a fast, and put on sackcloth, from the greatest of them even to the least of them... And God saw from their works that they had turned from their evil way; and God repented of the evil that he had said that he would do unto them; and he did *it* not.[26]

In each case, the punishment of God is brought upon the city by the evil of its inhabitants; indeed, the implication of the first example is that the citizens of Sodom and Gomorrah knew enough of God to be righteous, but chose not to be. This, too, might be deduced from the third example: the people of Nineveh knew how to propitiate God through fasting and wearing the clothes of the sinner. Thus, these are cities which have actively gone against God; the city is not an intrinsically evil institution, but one which can be brought to evil by its inhabitants. Nineveh, upon showing contrition, is permitted to survive: from being evil, it has become righteous. In part, this is because the city plays different roles in the different stories; it does not have a completely fixed identity. The people of Sodom and Gomorrah, through the presence of the angels, are given an opportunity to repent, but reject it. By rejecting the angels, messengers of God, they reject God, and the punishment of the city demonstrates what will happen to those who also reject God. In Nineveh, on the other hand, God's word is heeded, and the people are saved. Thus, Nineveh demonstrates God's mercy. The cities of the Book of Amos are punished for distinct sins: their role is to demonstrate on a large, and therefore shockingly effective, scale, the punishment for, for example, betraying a brotherly covenant[27]. A fourth example, Babylon, plays a fixed role; the constant source of evil and of threat to the Jews. It is the constant antithesis of the city of Jerusalem, physically the capital of Israel, but with a far more significant role as the symbolic centre of Jewish civilisation, and thus of righteousness. When Jerusalem is captured, the Jews are less of a people; when they return to Jerusalem and rebuild it, then they are stronger[28]. The city of Jerusalem, then, is a symbol of the Jewish faith; an attack upon Jerusalem is an attack upon Judaism.

For Christian writers, Rome was representative of all that was evil about the city: Babylon was reviled by the Jewish authors of the Old Testament, and Christian

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[26] Jonah, 3.3-10.
[27] Amos, 1.9.
[28] See, for example, II Kings 25 and 25; II Chronicles 36; Ezra 1-7; Nehemiah 1-7.

writers from 1 Peter onwards[29] identified Rome, as the capital of the pagan Roman Empire, with Babylon. Perhaps the best example of this is to be found in the Book of Revelation, with the personification of Rome as the Whore of Babylon:

> I saw a woman sit upon upon a scarlet coloured beast, full of names and blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns. And the woman was arrayed in purple and scarlet colour, and decked with gold and precious stones and pearls, having a golden cup in her hand full of abominations and filthiness of her fornication: And upon her head *was* a name written, MYSTERY, BABYLON THE GREAT, THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH. And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus... And after these things I saw another angel come down from heaven, having great power; and the earth was lightened with his glory. And he cried mightily with a strong voice, saying, Babylon the great is fallen, and is become the habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird. For all nations have drunk of the wine of her fornication, and the kings of the earth have committed fornication with her, and the merchants of the earth are waxed rich with the abundance of her delicacies. And I heard another voice from heaven, saying, Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues[30].

The writers of Late Antique Gaul[31], then, were recipients of a range of varying traditions when it came to judging the city. These were adopted in a variety of ways, by a variety of different authors, and developed during the course of the fourth and fifth centuries. It must be remembered that all of these authors were Christians: Gallic pagan constructions of the Late Antique city have not survived, if indeed any existed. Inevitably, then, the view is one-sided, given the extent to which the Christian Church was determined to adopt the city as its own[32].

Fourth century construction

Ausonius is alone among fourth century Gauls in showing interest in the city, and this perhaps reflects his position as a literate Roman nobleman – Ausonius was tutor to the future emperor Gratian, served on the staff of Valentinian and Gratian in the campaigns against the Alemanni in 368-9, became a Gallic provincial governor, and was made consul in 379 - rather than his Christian faith. Certainly, his close contemporary Hilary of Poitiers, the leading bishop and theologian, was more concerned with writing about the Nicaean conflict and the nature of Christ than the

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[29] Morley, 1996, p.3.
[30] Revelation, 17.3-6, 18.1-4.
[31] If any Romano-British writers existed from any period, and there are no references to them in other texts, none have survived. Gildas, writing in Latin in perhaps the mid-sixth century, is the closest thing to a Romano-British author, but, while the tone of his work and his concerns are, interestingly, very close to those of Salvian, his dating precludes him from a part in this thesis.
[32] See Chapter 4 below.

city, suggesting that, in Gaul at least, the fourth century church was more interested in defining itself than in cementing its position within Roman society. Ausonius, whether his aim was to ally himself with fashionable thinking on the city or whether his words reflect his real feelings, presents a traditional Roman dislike of the city, characterising it as noisy, crowded, and disorderly, and its population as little better than animals; a complete contrast to the peaceful countryside:

> ... in the first days after holy Easter I long to visit my estate.
> For I am weary at the sight of throngs of people, the vulgar brawls at the crossroads, the narrow lanes a-swarm, and the broadways, belying their name for the rabble crowded there... These, and what else can shock the orderly, force me to leave the walled city and seek again the sweet peace of the retired country... [33]

The picture painted is one of the city as deeply unpleasant, and it serves to emphasise the charms of the countryside, despite the brevity of Ausonius' description of the country. The implication is very much that, had it not been for the Christian festival of Easter, Ausonius would not have gone to the city at all, an impression reinforced by Ausonius' letter to the rhetorician Axius Paulus, in which he states that "approaching Easter's rites summon me back [to Bordeaux]"[34]. The attractions of the countryside, and of the pastoral life, on the other hand, are made plain in Ausonius' idyllic tribute to the river Moselle:

> Other rivers have their shores decked the same:
> the Garonne reflects the rows of my vines.
> Gaurus, Rhodope, the Pangean hills –
> all these mountains and ridges are softened
> by green plants both wild and cultivated.
> The hills of the Moselle stretch themselves down
> the slopes of Bacchus like a yeoman's bow.
> The landsmen are gay as children playing
> while the hard-working farmer happily
> labours in song on the brow of the hill.[35]

Not only is the scenery different from that of the city, with green hills replacing crowded streets, but the inhabitants of city and country differ markedly, reflecting the difference between urban life and rural life. While the people of the city are, in a very negative image, a brawling mob, the suggestion being that they do little other than fight, the countrymen labour hard, but are so happy in their work and in their surroundings that they sing as they labour. As Ausonius goes on in the next two lines,

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[33] *Ep.*, 18.6.
[34] *Ep.*, 18.4.
[35] *The Moselle*, 150-160.

the whole scene is so infectious that the traveller cannot help joining in the song. The contrast between urban decadence and rural virtue is made clear:

> Go now, foolish men, and lay out acres
> of marble; build floors good enough to rest
> under the fine mosaics of your walls
> while I scorn the fruits of wealth and marvel
> at the work of nature rather than join
> that waste which only leads to poverty.[36]

Much as love of the countryside is obvious, however, the antithesis of this is not hatred of the city. Certainly, dislike is obvious, but the city, as Ausonius states in his letter to Axius Paulus, is also a temptation:

> At last, having struggled free from delay's seductive toils, I have left Bordeaux's soft enticements. I on a neighbouring farm dwell nigh the town of Saintes... [37]

This is the city in its guise as home of decadence, and it brings to mind the Gospel of St. Matthew:

> Enter ye in at the strait gate: for wide is the gate and broad the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat: because strait is the gate and narrow is the way which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it. [38]

Desire for the city and its attractions is present in Ausonius' comment about Saintes, but also a desire on Ausonius' part to show a friend how high-minded he is, that he did not give way to temptation. This certainly reflects a traditional Roman view of the city, but it may at the same time indicate the adaptation of that tradition by Christian Romans. The sexual metaphor, seduction, for the attractions of the city, calls to mind the presentation of Rome as the Whore of Babylon in the Book of Revelation, a theme which, as will be argued, Salvian picked up. Gallic Christian writers of the fifth century and later associated the city with sex and immorality: Ausonius appears to provide a fourth century Gallic origin for this line of thinking. He also reflects the ambiguity of the Christian position when it came to the city. On the one hand, the city was a den of temptation; on the other, it was the centre for Christian cult, and, as such,

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[36] *The Moselle*, 59-61.
[37] *Ep.*, 18.4.
[38] Matthew, 7.13-14.

had a claim on his time and attention. Easter, and the necessity of celebrating the festival in proper fashion in the city's cathedral[39], called him back to Bordeaux.

Cities of Heaven and of the earth

This ambiguity about the position of the city is a significant part of fifth century Gallic writings on the city, in which it was constructed as either the Heavenly City of Augustine[40], to citizenship of which all Christians should aspire, or as the earthly city; in other words, as something more akin to Revelation's Whore of Babylon. Whereas Ausonius in the fourth century was far closer to traditional Roman attitudes towards the city, with a knowledge of Biblical attitudes, fifth century writers made far more explicit use of Judaeo-Christian *topoi*. Both models had their use in the discourse of Gallic Christian writers, the first as an ideal to aim at, and the second as an example to avoid.

The model of the city as something to be avoided, even rejected, is found in the *Vitae* of St. Martin, St. Honoratus, and St.Germanus, written by, respectively, Sulpicius Severus in c.400, St. Hilary of Arles in c.430, and Constantius of Lyon in c.480. In two of these instances of fifth century Gallic hagiography, the saint avoids the city, despite being its bishop, and resides a small distance away, in the countryside; St. Martin in a hermitage and St. Germanus in a monastery[41]. St. Honoratus, meanwhile, leaves an idealised life of Christian perfection in his monastery of Lerins, to become bishop of Arles, the two parts of his religious life thus clearly separated[42]. The city itself is never presented as explicitly evil, it is simply that the saints prefer a simple, virtuous, life, and this is most easily achieved in the countryside. That the city provides temptations and, at the very least, luxuries, is implicit in this, but this is not by any means to say that the city is evil. All three saints,

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[39] The inference is that Christian festivals could only take place in the city; that the fourth century church had little interest in the countryside. The truth of this will be examined in Chapter 5, but the attitude that only the city offered Christian worship is interesting to note.
[40] See *City of God*, 17.3.
[41] Germanus' monastery was, of course, only 250 metres outside the walls of Auxerre, as Simon Loseby has pointed out to me. Nevertheless, Constantius draws a real distinction between city church and rural monastery (see, for example, *Life of St. Germanus*, 6 and 9).
[42] On Honoratus' monastic life, see *Life of St. Honoratus*, 17-22.

in the hands of their hagiographers, live up to the ideal of the ascetic hermit; such a man was holy in part because of his rejection of civilisation – the world as opposed to the desert – as a whole[43]. Civilisation, of course, is represented by the city. It is not that civilisation is evil, but that holiness can be found in the rejection of the material world.

Sidonius Apollinaris, holder of several posts at Rome under the Emperors Avitus and Majorian, culminating in his appointment as urban prefect in 468, before becoming bishop of Clermont-Ferrand in 469[44], presents a superficially similar line of thinking, presenting the countryside as virtuous. Twice he uses the Cincinnatus topos in this way, in the first instance in his panegyric to Avitus, when he compares him to that ideal of Roman citizenship, stating that he had

> ... discharged the prefect's majestic office and he had devoted himself to country life... Maximus [then Emperor]... chose for himself Avitus as Master of Horse and Foot. The tidings of the rank bestowed found him farming, plying the best mattock's tooth or stooping over the curved plough as he turned up the unsunned clods in his fertile acres. [45]

Sidonius presents us, then, with the image of the Emperor as a Republican hero, choosing his rural estates over urban life, and having to have rank and honour forced upon him. It is a very traditional topos, presented in a very traditional manner: this is not Sidonius the Christian, but Sidonius the Roman nobleman. It is noticeable that Sidonius' panegyrics, all of which date to the period before he became bishop, use images of pagan gods in traditional manner; Sidonius the Christian seems to be separate from Sidonius the nobleman, who writes in a traditional classical manner[46]. Thus, the second instance of Sidonius utilising the Cincinnatus topos, in a letter from his period as bishop, has a different aim. Rather than a nobleman honouring his Emperor, he is a bishop caring for his city, and recalling the nobleman Syagrius to his civic duties:

> Tell me, you brightest flower of our Gallo-Roman youth, how long, pray, are you going to busy yourself with rustic activities and disdain those of the town? ... Why guide the plough-handle... and yet forgo all ambition for the consul's robe? Do not bring a slur on the nobility by staying so constantly in the country. [47]

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[43] Brown, 1971, p.101; 1997, ch.7.
[44] Strictly speaking, Sidonius was bishop of Clermont-Ferrand. For biographical details, see Harries, 1994.
[45] *Panegyric to Avitus*, 7.316-7 and 7.371-82.
[46] See, for example, the panegyric to Felix (9.50-180), invoking a range of pagan divinities.
[47] *Ep.*, 8.8. I am very grateful to both Neville Morley and Penny Goodman, who have both pointed out to me, separately, that this passage utilises Cincinnatus.

Here, Cincinnatus is invoked to give a sense of shame; Syagrius, unlike his famous predecessor, is not behaving as the ideal Roman citizen, but is ignoring his duties.

At face value, Sidonius does, then, present the countryside as virtuous. More careful examination, however, shows that it is only virtuous if it plays its proper role in relation to the city. The nobleman should not seek rank and honour of his own volition, but he should carry out his civic duties. Avitus did so, while Syagrius did not; thus, Avitus is virtuous, while Syagrius is not. City and countryside have a role for Sidonius, but only to reflect honour or dishonour on the actions of Sidonius' addressees.

Salvian, a monk, and presbyter of the Church in Marseilles, wrote *The Governance of God* in c.440, and in it presents a completely different, and largely damning, picture of the city. His theme is the evil of Gallo-Roman society, which is evil despite the knowledge of good, Catholic as opposed to Arian, Christianity[48]. For Salvian, only the barbarians, even though they are both Arian and uncivilised[49], offer any hope of a righteous life:

> Therefore, in the districts taken over by the barbarians, there is one desire among all the Romans, that they should never again find it necessary to pass under Roman jurisdiction. [50]

Salvian's aim is to present contemporary society with firstly, a picture of their sins, and, secondly, a picture of the consequences, in an attempt to correct what he sees as the sin of Gallo-Roman society. The city, as the heart of society, is key to this.

From the very beginning of *The Governance of God*, Salvian makes it clear that the root of the evil lies in the cities of Gaul. In Book 1.8, he links three themes vital to his message: the evil of the city; the Biblical parallel of Sodom; and the self-inflicted punishment of the cities by a reluctant God:

> So when God sent his pupils to Sodom, he wished to prove to us that he is loath to punish even wicked men; to the end that when we should read what insults the angels endured from the people of Sodom, and see plainly the enormity of their crimes, the disgraceful character of their vices and the obscenity of their lusts, he might prove to us that he did not wish to destroy them, but they themselves forced their destruction on him.

Salvian gives the mention of Sodom contemporary relevance by arguing that God's punishment of Sodom is a message for contemporary Gaul, thus equating Sodom and

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[48] *The Governance of God*, 6.18.
[49] Samways, 2002.
[50] *The Governance of God*, 5.8.

the cities of Gaul. These, he makes quite plain, are by their very nature evil[51]. Their sins are listed in some detail. The *curiales* have become tyrants[52] in most cities; Salvian draws on Greek ideas of citizenship and the *polis* here, in which the tyrant is the ultimate evil for the city, since his existence demonstrates that the citizens have given up their freedom – the key tenet of citizenship - to allow themselves to be ruled by a single man rather than by their peers[53]. These tyrants oppress the poor through high taxation, and are involved in brigandage[54], thus breaking both God's law and the law of Rome. Despite the knowledge of Christianity, the cities still honour pagan gods, associating key civic institutions with them:

> Minerva is worshipped and honoured in the gymnasia, Venus in the theatres, Neptune in the circuses, Mars in the arena, Mercury in the wrestling schools, and therefore the worship of superstitions is according to the inclination of those who worship. Whatever is of an impure nature is done in the theatres. Whatever is luxurious, in the wrestling schools. Whatever is immoderate, in the circuses. Whatever is mad, in the arena pits. [55]

Much of Salvian's concern is with the places of civic entertainment. Just as Carthage (see below) is characterised for Salvian by its sexual excess, the cities of Gaul are almost defined by their love of the theatre and the circus[56]. The theatre promotes evil desires[57] , while the circus is both patronised by pagan gods, and provides the death of men as entertainment, something which Salvian both finds repugnant[58], and regards as the work of the devil:

> In the games there is a certain apostasy from the faith and a deadly deviation from the Creed and from the heavenly pledges. For, what is the first confession of faith of Christians in the saving baptism? What is it except that they profess they are renouncing the devil, his pomps and games and works. Therefore, according to our profession of faith, the games and pomps are the works of the devil. [59]

Sexual excess is barely mentioned as a sin of the cities of Gaul, with the brief exception of Aquitaine, which is compared to a brothel[60]. This must be seen as deliberate: Salvian is drawing a careful line between the cities of Gaul and Carthage,

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[51] *The Governance of God*, 7.15. It might be argued, of course, that the evil of a city's inhabitants doesn't make the city itself evil; community, however, equated to city in the ancient world. The two concepts are not easily separable, so that if the community is evil, so is the city.
[52] *The Governance of God*, 5.4.
[53] See Osborne, 1996, p.193.
[54] *The Governance of God*, 5.4,5,6, and 8.
[55] *The Governance of God*, 6.11.
[56] Salvian does also mention "music halls, public processions, jesters, athletes, tumblers, [and] pantomimes" as monstrous and disgusting, but ignores them on grounds of space. See *The Governance of God*, 6.3.
[57] *The Governance of God*, 6.3.
[58] *The Governance of God*, 6.2.
[59] *The Governance of God*, 6.6.
[60] *The Governance of God*, 7.3.

the city which learns from its sins (see below), so that they can play different roles within his diatribe. The cities of Aquitaine are mentioned in the same context, and the same book, as Carthage, as further examples of cities with great natural benefits (in this case good agricultural land[61]) wasting those benefits through sin. The other cities of Gaul are discussed in Book 6, as examples of God's punishment, and thus God, being rejected.

That punishment comes in the shape of the barbarians, who play a dual role. They are both the "other", set up to highlight the sins and the shortcomings of the civilised Romans through their uncivilised, barbarian, nature[62], and the scourge of God. Just as Sodom and Gomorrah were destroyed by God, so the barbarians are sent by God, according to Salvian, to punish the cities of Gaul and to lead them to righteousness:

> The wealthiest city of Gaul was taken by storm four times. It is easy to know of which one I speak. The first captivity should have sufficed for amendment, so that the repetition of their sins would not renew destruction.
>
> What followed? What I say is incredible. The continuance of calamities in that city caused an increase of crimes there. Like the serpentine monster which multiplied when killed, as the fables have it, so even in the most excellent city of Gaul crimes increased by the very blows with which crimes were checked... What next? It has come to this, through the daily multiplication of corrupting evils, that it would be easier for that city to be without an inhabitant than for almost any of its inhabitants to be without crime. [63]

This, then, is the punishment of a loving God, one who wishes, as Salvian implied at 1.8, the punishment to lead to repentance rather than to the ultimate destruction visited upon Sodom and Gomorrah. Like the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah, however, the inhabitants of the cities of Gaul do not learn from their punishment, but continue to sin, even desiring games and theatres amid the destruction of their city[64]. They do not learn, and thus, despite the best efforts of God, the cities of Gaul remain centres of evil and vice[65]. Of course, for Salvian's message to make any sense, the cities cannot learn: in terms of the Biblical models which are the basis for Salvian's rhetoric, they must resemble Sodom rather than Nineveh, or there is no target for Salvian's accusations. Here, of course, Salvian's argument becomes less logical than it should be. He wants the cities of his day to learn from their mistakes, but he cannot present a concrete example of them having done so in the past as a result of God's

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[61] *The Governance of God*, 7.2.
[62] Samways, 2002; *The Governance of God*, 6.10.
[63] *The Governance of God*, 6.13.
[64] *The Governance of God*, 6.15.
[65] *The Governance of God*, 6.9-11,12.

punishment, or there is no need for his sermon. Thus, the possibility of repentance is there, but sitting alongside a picture of a Gaul unwilling to repent; the message, therefore, is contradictory. It is impossible for the cities to learn, but he preaches so that they will.

Whereas Salvian concentrates chiefly upon the evils of the Gallic cities, Caesarius of Arles, bishop of that city between 503 and his death in 543, very clearly and concisely constructs two models of the city as earthly and Heavenly. Building on Old Testament models, he names them Babylon and Jerusalem:

> There are two kinds of men, the humble and the proud, and, like two peoples, they have been established in two cities since the beginning of the world. One of these is called Jerusalem, which is interpreted as the vision of peace, while the other is Babylon, which is interpreted as confusion. Christ builds the one; the Devil, the other. Now, all those who wish to persevere in pride belong to Babylon; those who will remain in humility belong to Jerusalem. [66]

Whereas Salvian used the city as a focus for his sermon on the evils of Gaul and the punishment it could expect, Caesarius uses the city as a metaphor for righteous and sinful ways of life, good and bad people separated by their citizenship of different cities. That citizenship in itself is constructed by men's actions while they live. The proud, in other words sinners, belong to Babylon, city of evil. The very mention of Jerusalem, figured in St. Augustine, and elsewhere in Caesarius' work (see below) as Heaven, gives the passage a sense of the afterlife, and thus, for Caesarius if not for Augustine, if Jerusalem is Heaven, Babylon must be Hell[67]. Each city, therefore, has a dual role: it is both the city to which men belong through their actions in this life, and the city to which they will belong in death because of their actions.

This picture of the city as representative of evil sits alongside a picture of the city as representative of sin in this world as well as the next, in a passage very reminiscent of Salvian:

> Is it not true that the more harshly cities were chastised, the more unwilling they were to accept the discipline of reproof, even though other provinces had been corrected?... The eyes of men fail when they regard the dead, not only of bodies, but also of souls. [68]

Just as in Salvian's work, the cities were evil, were punished, and yet failed to learn their lesson and continued to sin. The difference is that perhaps for Caesarius the barbarians, while sent by God, are far less benevolent, and thus seem to be far less

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[66] *Sermon*, 48.5.
[67] I am grateful to Professor Gillian Clark for pointing out to me that for Augustine, Babylon is not Hell but the earthly city, the community of those who want earthly rewards. See further, O'Daly, 1999.
[68] *Sermon*, 70.2.

divine in their nature. God is described as handing the city over to them, as if they were an external agency[69].

Whereas Salvian uses the city only as a feature of this life, Caesarius, as in the passage above, uses the city also as a metaphor for the afterlife. Hell is Babylon; with a largely unacknowledged debt to St. Augustine, Jerusalem is Heaven[70]. One such example is *Sermon* 24:

> Consider, brethren, and see the example of our Lord, who made us pilgrims and commended us to reach the heavenly City by running along the path of charity. [71]

In terms made familiar to more modern audiences by John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, the road to Heaven is presented as a journey, a pilgrimage, its route determined by good Christian behaviour. In this case, as might be expected in a sermon on charity, Caesarius argues that the Christian can be successful in his search for Heaven by being charitable. The city is thus not only a metaphor for Heaven; it has an individual role to play to suit the aims of this particular sermon. Similarly, in *Sermon* 36, an admonition to love one's enemies, Jerusalem again plays two roles: both metaphorically Heaven, and the repository of peace; the warlike and violent cannot expect to reach Heaven:

> When he summons the heavenly Jerusalem, that is, the congregation of all the saints who will reign with Christ, to praise the Lord, and says: 'Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem,' He adds: 'who hath placed peace in thy borders.' [Ps.147.12,14.] Therefore, as you see, that heavenly Jerusalem has walls made of peace. [72]

Jerusalem as the heavenly city is an idea also to be found in Ruricius, bishop of Limoges between c.485 and c.507. Using the mention of Jerusalem in Psalm 121.3 in his letter to Stephanus, he presents the afterlife as the Heavenly City, in which he hopes to meet his correspondent[73]. This is an idea also to be found in *Epistle* 1.17, in which traditional Roman ideas about the desirability of urban life as opposed to rural are adapted in an interesting fashion. Again, as in Caesarius, life is presented as a journey towards the Heavenly city. In this case, however, much is made of the unpleasant countryside through which one must pass before one can reach the city[74].

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[69] *Sermon*, 70.2.
[70] A number of Caesarius' sermons use greater or lesser quantities of Augustinian material. See the introduction to the translation.
[71] *Sermon*, 24.3.
[72] *Sermon*, 36.6.
[73] *Ep.*, 2.52.
[74] *Ep.*, 1.17.

Life, then, is presented as constant hardship in the countryside, while on dying one is permitted entrance to the joys of urban living.

Crudely, therefore, the city only really becomes a desirable Christian entity when it is seen as Heaven. The cities of the world, with the exception of Carthage (examined below), are largely places of evil. Since, as Chapter 5 will demonstrate, the Church was an urban institution, its buildings centred upon, or at least looking towards, the city, this created a problem for Salvian and Caesarius. Even if the city itself was presented as evil, Christian buildings could not be tarred with the same brush. The only exception could be if, as in the case of Caesarius' *Sermon* 70, the writer wished to emphasise the evil of the city by asserting that even the churches and the priests were not exempt from God's punishment[75]. Thus, the buildings of the Church are presented as slightly separate, even in the midst of the city. In Carthage, Salvian says, only the churches were free from sin:

> Why do I exempt the temple of God? The temple belongs completely and solely to the priests and clergy. I do not discuss them, because I preserve reverence for the ministry of my Lord. Only those in the service of the altar, I think, were pure, just as we read that Lot was alone on the mountain while Sodom perished. [76]

Not only does the mention of Lot equate Carthage with Sodom, but by comparing the priests of Carthage to Lot Salvian creates a sense of the separation between city and Church. Lot viewed the destruction of Sodom from afar; the churches may have been in the centre of Carthage, but they are given a symbolic distance from the evil of Carthage. Caesarius does something similar, placing his cathedral metaphorically above the level of the city by using the notions of up and down, and thus distancing it from the city:

> [If people leave church] as soon as the lessons have been recited, to whom will the priest say 'Lift up your hearts'? Moreover, how can they reply that they have lifted them up when they go down into the streets both in body and in heart. [77]

Transitional Cities

Only two cities are permitted by the writers of fifth century Gaul to move from one model of the city to the other, from sinning earthly city to Heavenly City. The first of these is found, very briefly, in Ruricius' letter to Ceraunia, wife of the, at this

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[75] *Sermon*, 70.2.
[76] *On the Governance of God*, 7.17.
[77] *Sermon*, 73.2.

date (c.495-500) dead, bishop Namatius[78]. Faith is presented as the city of Jerusalem, which, as has been seen, was so often constructed by the Gallic writers of the fifth century as Heaven, but which also had a Biblical identity, and which lay in ruins at various times while the Jews were ruled by other nations[79]. Ruricius conflates the two identities:

> Under Hierobabel those who had returned from captivity restored the walls of Jerusalem. When they became involved in a war against other peoples because of the restoration of the wall, they worked with their right hands and fought with their left, extending, of course, on the left, the shield of faith against their adversaries, and building on the right a wall of good works as if of fitted stones... It is fitting for us to know that, according to the apostle, all these things "were done as warnings for us", because, for as long as we were occupied in worldly activities, taken from Judaea just like captives of the Babylonians and their king, we were slaves in enemy territory. From there, returning through penitence to our homeland, that is, to the celestial Jerusalem, the mother of all the faithful, with every kind of virtue we ought to repair what has collapsed, to prepare for that to come, so that through the benevolence of God, freed from the captivity of our past sins, we might serve not the king of the Babylonians but the king of the heavens, Christ, in Jerusalem, which is a city built by the congregation of the saints.[80]

The message, then, is that Jerusalem, as the Christian faith, always exists, but that we may neglect it, allowing it to fall into ruin, while we engage in worldly, rather than Christian activities, represented in this passage by enslavement to Hierobabel, governor of Judah under the Persian king Darius, and thus the agent of Babylon. If this happens, the city, Jerusalem, must be repaired; in other words, the Christian becomes a good Christian through penitence and by undertaking good works. Jerusalem, then, can be a fluid concept; while it never quite sinks to the level of Babylon, it can become ruined, and if it is ruined by sin then it may be seen as a city of sinners. At the same time, Jerusalem has a second, slightly different, identity; rather than representing personal faith, either ruined or perfectly maintained, Jerusalem becomes the Heavenly city itself built by the saints, from which worldly activities will exclude us, but into which our faith may deliver us. Set against this is the Babylon of wordly concerns, the earthly city which will trap and ensnare those who neglect their faith.

Salvian provides the second example of a city changing its status; in his case, Carthage, under the barbarians, metamorphoses from the epitome of evil to become as perfect a city as is possible. Carthage is consciously set up in opposition to the cities

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[78] *Ep.*, 2.15. While it is clear from *Ep.*, 2.1-6 that Ruricius' daughter married the son of Namatius and Cearaunia, Namatius' identity is disputed: see the introduction to *Ep.*, 2.1.
[79] See, for example, the Book of Nehemiah, which describes the ruin of Jerusalem under the Persian king Artaxerxes, and its rebuilding.
[80] *Ep.*, 2.15, based upon Ezra 4.

of Gaul in general, and Trier in particular, which, as has been demonstrated, do not learn from God's punishment and are as evil as ever. The role of Carthage is a crucial one for Salvian's message, since it allows him to present a picture of the ideal earthly city, and through this demonstrate to Gaul how a Godly life should be lived.

In order for this to work, Salvian has to present his readers with an image of Africa as a whole, and particularly Carthage, as the ultimate in evil despite all its great benefits, for which he draws heavily upon both the Book of Revelation and the description of Rome given by the orator Aelius Aristides. Taking the description of Tyre from Ezekiel 28.4-5, he says:

> Were not all these things such that they seem to have been said particularly about Africa? Where were greater treasures, where greater commerce, where fuller warehouses? He said, "with gold have I filled your treasury from the multitude of your commerce." I add further: so rich was Africa at one time that it seems to me that the fullness of her commerce filled not only her own but even the treasuries of the world. And what were the rest of the words of the prophet? He says: "your heart is exalted in your beauty, because of the multitude of your sins I have cast you to the ground." [81]

The sense of the riches of Africa, and of the scale of the commerce of the province is reminiscent of the oration in honour of Rome given by the Greek orator of the second century A.D., Aelius Aristides[82], but where he is merely fulsome in his praise, Salvian introduces a moral element: despite, or even because of, though this is not explicit, these riches, Africa is guilty of a multitude of sins, which again brings to mind Rome, but this time the Rome condemned of Revelation:

> And the merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn over her: for no man buyeth their merchandise any more: The merchandise of gold, and silver, and precious stones... The merchants of these things, which were made rich by her, shall stand afar off for the fear of her torment, weeping and wailing, And saying, Alas, alas, that great city, that was clothed in fine linen, and purple, and scarlet, and decked with gold, and precious stones, and pearls! For in one hour so great riches is come to nought. [83]

It is clear, then, that Salvian was drawing on much older literary models of the city in his discussion of Carthage. As we have seen, his insistence that the city itself was evil can be seen to have roots in both the Roman and Judaeo-Christian literary traditions, and in the specific case of Carthage the list of the sins of the city can also be seen to have an origin in Christian thought. The theme of rejection of advantage continues: not only is Africa rich, but Carthage possesses schools of liberal arts and of languages and ethics; the workshops of philosophers are there; and powerful men,

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[81] *The Governance of God*, 7.14.
[82] *Oration* 26.2-13.
[83] Revelation, 18.10-17.

governors and judges, reside there, reflecting, by implication, the rank and renown of the city. As Salvian puts it:

> This city alone suffices as my example and witness, because she had completely within herself all the materials which are used for the provisioning, ruling, and governing of the State, anywhere in the whole world. [84]

This is ambiguous: at face value, the message is that, given these advantages, the people of Carthage should have avoided sin, since they had all that they could desire and should thus, by implication, have been grateful to God. The next paragraphs, however, suggest otherwise. Salvian lists the vices and sins of Carthage, and all can be linked to the good fortune of the city, with drunkenness and gluttony, the results of too great an abundance of food and drink being readily available, to the fore:

> ... all [the citizens were] wasted by varied kinds of indolence and luxury and almost all prostrate in the death of their sins. Not all were intoxicated from drinking wine, but all were drunk from their sins. [85]

Good fortune, then, is abused and leads to sin in Carthage: the reminder of Christ, who lived a simple and virtuous life, and whose example Christians were supposed to follow[86], is ever-present. Riches themselves, according to Caesarius of Arles, are only of use for providing alms, and, indeed, his implication is that riches themselves are so immoral that the wealthy man can only enter heaven by giving them away: the poor exist, it seems, largely for this purpose[87]. To point out the good fortune of the city also highlights the depths to which it has fallen. This is especially true of the passage following this, in which the plight of widows, orphans, and the poor, all those whom Christians are enjoined to care for through charity and almsgiving: in Carthage, however fortunate the rich, those for whom the rich should have especial care are neglected[88].

From here, Salvian moves his discussion onto sins which invoke Revelation's description of the Whore of Babylon, fornicating with the kings of the earth:

> What portion of the city was not filled with indecency, what street or path within the city was not a brothel? The snares of lust were, so to speak, astride almost all crossroads and streets and had spread their nets over them, so that even they who thoroughly abhorred this vice could scarcely avoid it...

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[84] *The Governance of God*, 7.16.
[85] *The Governance of God*, 7.16.
[86] See, for example, the Homilies of John Chrysostom, Sulpicius Severus' *Life* of St. Martin, and Constantius of Lyon's *Life* of St. Germanus. All present the ideal of the ascetic lifestyle.
[87] See, for example, Sermon 49, entitled "How the Widows, Orphans, and the Poor in Scripture are to be Interpreted".
[88] *The Governance of God*, 7.16.

> I will say much more. Would that the vices I have named were the only vices and that the impure men in that city would have been content to be defiled solely by the fornication of fallen women! More grave and criminal was the fact that those vices, about which the Apostle Paul complained with the greatest lament of his soul, were almost all practised in Africa. That is, men, having put aside the natural use of women, burned in their desires for one another... [this leading on to effeminacy and transvestitism]. [89]

Sex outside the bounds of marriage, both with women, and, worse, with other men, then, rears its head. This is, again, an old theme, but one which perhaps owes more to Christian tradition than to Roman. The city is evil because its inhabitants indulge in illicit sexual activity, breaking the bonds of marriage blessed by God, and breaking the command that sex should only be for the purposes of procreation[90]. Carthage, then, is presented by Salvian as sinful and vice-ridden, and thus as deserving the punishment of God, using a series of images which utilise literary topoi with their roots in both Roman and Judaeo-Christian tradition. Again, the picture is made worse by Salvian's assertion that Carthage is a Christian city, where the Apostles taught and men were martyred[91]: this is not sin committed out of ignorance.

That punishment comes, as to every other city in Salvian's work, in the form of the barbarians. Again, the Old Testament is invoked to place the barbarians on the side of God, and thus on the side of righteousness; Salvian compares the barbarians to Joshua destroying the walls of Jericho:

> The barbarian peoples were sounding their arms around the walls of Cirta and Carthage... [92]

This is an interesting inversion of the expected use of the concept of otherness. By equating the barbarians rather than his Romano-Christian audience with the side of right, Salvian places the barbarians in the superior position. This is unusual: as Samways argues, the role of the barbarian in Salvian is more often to highlight the poor Christianity of the Romans. They are never usually superior, for all their fine qualities, since they are uncivilised, and because their Christianity is Arian rather than Catholic[93]. Again, the aim of Salvian is to show how far Carthage is from the ideal Christian city.

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[89] *The Governance of God*, 7.17-18.
[90] I Corinthians, 6.9, 13-19; 7.1-36.
[91] *The Governance of God*, 7.18.
[92] *The Governance of God*, 6.12, reminiscent of Joshua 6.
[93] Samways, 2002.

The sack of Carthage is not described in any great detail, unlike that of Trier and the other Gallic cities; Salvian contents himself with the brief comment that even while the barbarians marched around the walls of Carthage

> ... the Christian population of Carthage still went mad in the circuses and revelled in the theatres. Some were strangled outside the walls; others were committing fornication within. A portion of the people was captive of the enemy without the walls, and a portion was captive of vice within the walls. [94]

Attention is instead paid to the actions of the barbarians once they had taken Carthage. This is, of course, deliberate; Salvian is placing Carthage in opposition to Trier. At Trier, the terror of God's punishment is emphasised so that Salvian's audience is left in no doubt as to the evil of Trier's inhabitants, that the punishment had no effect on them. By omitting this in the case of Carthage, Salvian focuses attention on the metamorphosis of the city from evil to as close to perfection as possible. He paints a picture of the Vandals as virtuous; they ignore the temptations of the riches of Carthage, which alone, Salvian says, would have been admirable[95]. Salvian, though, has them go further, and in so doing effect a transformation of the city; whereas the Romans, he claimed, institute laws and then break them on a far more serious scale[96], the Vandals made laws which they kept, and which, were, moreover, sensible and humane, correcting sinners so that "the accomplishment was curative, not punitive"[97]. As might be expected from the tone of his criticisms of Carthage, Salvian's main preoccupation is with the abolition of sexual sins: thus, the Vandals married prostitutes off, so that at least sexual desire had a legitimate outlet[98]. At the same time, according to Salvian, the Vandals enacted strict laws to enforce chastity, and he concludes:

> Thus, morality rested upon a double defense, since it had love indoors and fear outdoors... [the Vandals] forbade prostitution as well as adultery...[they] wished husbands to be husbands to none but their wives...[and] did not permit intercourse to stray outside the lawful marriage bed.

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[94] *The Governance of God*, 6.12.
[95] *The Governance of God*, 7.20.
[96] *The Governance of God*, 7.21: for example, a judge punishes theft, but embezzles public money, or punishes those who burgle houses while he ravages provinces.
[97] *The Governance of God*, 7.22.
[98] *The Governance of God*, 7.22: there is some inconsistency here, since Salvian does in his discussion of the sins of Carthage accuse prostitutes of causing adultery. One might ask why adulterous men should be dissuaded by the fact that the prostitutes were now married, unless we see simple chauvinism here in an assumption that women will automatically obey their husbands.

Creation of sexual morality, then, appears to have cured Carthage of its sins, illicit sexual activity apparently being used by Salvian as representative of many evils:

> They [the Vandals] directed their laws according to the rule of divine Law, so that they believe that nothing is lawful in this matter which God does not wish to be lawful. They thought that no man should permit himself anything unless it is permitted to all by God. [99]

That it should be sexual sins – adultery, cross-dressing, and particularly homosexuality – which characterise Carthage in its incarnation as a city of evil, and that the barbarians should drive its transformation by enforcing chastity, is significant[100]. As Boys-Stones has pointed out, sexual relations between men and youths were considered by many Greeks to be extremely important for the cohesion of the city, since they brought the male population together; Lycurgus was said by Plutarch to have given homosexual relations official recognition in his constitution for Sparta[101]. Plutarch's *Life* of Lycurgus of course, does not represent historical fact, but Plutarch's version of Spartan tradition presented for a Roman audience; Plutarch's implicit message throughout the work is that the Romans should follow Spartan examples if they are to become a powerful military race. Thus, the account of Sparta's Lycurgan constitution, in Plutarch's hands, becomes a manifesto for the workings of the ideal city. In Salvian's choice of sexual sin to characterise the evil of Carthage, we can see a direct attack on this Greek ideal; by following such paths, Salvian points out, the city, so far from becoming an ideal community, falls into terrible evil. In place of this Greek ideal, he sets up a Christian one, in which sexual abstinence is the defining characteristic; the barbarians thus not only destroy sinning Carthage, and put holy, Christian, Carthage in its place, they destroy the Greek ideal.

The barbarians, then, retain the position of superiority created for them in Carthage by Salvian's use of the Joshua topos. They provide the ideal to which all Christian citizens should aspire: Salvian presents his audience with a picture of Carthage as transitional from den of iniquity to Christian city so that they can see what is possible. The model of Trier as perpetually sinning is the stick, to frighten Salvian's audience; the model of Carthage takes the discussion a step further, by providing a carrot and demonstrating that obedience of God's law leads to a better form of life. Salvian leaves us in no doubt that this is only possible where the

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[99] *The Governance of God*, 7.22.
[100] I am grateful to George Boys-Stones for pointing out to me the significance of sexual sin in the context of Salvian's cities.
[101] Boys-Stones, 1998, p.169.

barbarians are in control, in other words, in cities which have heeded God's punishment; Roman Ninevehs rather than Sodom and Gomorrahs:

> You, O Roman people, be ashamed; be ashamed of your lives. Almost no cities are free of evil dens, are altogether free of impurities, except those cities in which the barbarians have begun to live. And we in our misery, who are so impure, wonder if we are conquered by enemy forces, we who are surpassed by them in character. [102]

To return to the beginning of the discussion of Carthage, the similarities between Salvian's description of the city and Roman and Christian descriptions of Rome are significant. By invoking them, Salvian is giving Carthage the traditional role in Christian discourse of Rome, a transfer which he goes on to make explicit, building up Carthage from, first of all, the first city and "mother" of the cities of Africa, to:

> ... formerly the continual rival of Rome in its arms and prowess, and afterwards in splendour and dignity...

and from there to:

> ... the greatest adversary of the city of Rome, and, as it were, a Rome in Africa[103].

Thus, Carthage becomes more than the equal of Rome, moving to become Rome itself in Africa. The importance of this cannot be over-emphasised, for Salvian has rejected what, in Rome, we might regard as the obvious target for his diatribe. Christian tradition insists that it is Rome which occupies the position of Babylon, yet Salvian chooses Carthage. An explanation for Salvian's unusual choice is possible, however; the role of Carthage, in Salvian's work was to undergo a transformation to become the ideal Christian city. Possibly, for Salvian, Rome was still so tainted by paganism that it could not undergo such a transformation. This in itself, though, is strange. Rome was home to the relics of St. Peter and St. Paul, as well as to a host of lesser martyrs, was the seat of potentially the most powerful Western bishop[104], and with the Church building programme begun by Constantine had been physically transformed[105]: it was, in short, a Christian capital. In addition, it had undergone precisely the experiences which Salvian looked for in Carthage; in 410 the Goth Alaric sacked Rome,

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[102] *The Governance of God*, 7.23.
[103] *The Governance of God*, 7.16.
[104] This was a process begun by Damasus, Pope between 366 and 384, who used both the Arian controversy and the presence of the relics of Saints Peter and Paul, to claim pre-eminence. See Chadwick, 1993, p.160-4.
[105] Cameron, 1993a, p.61; Chadwick, 1993, p.127-8; Christie, 2000, p.311.

potentially providing the basis for Salvian's model of the city scourged by God learning from its experience. More convincing is the idea that Rome had undergone a transition in the mindset of at least Salvian, and had been metamorphosed from pagan capital to Christian city. It might be argued that Salvian's one comment on the city of Rome, that when people from any other city visit Rome some of them join the Roman people in the theatre[106], supports the idea that the city of Rome was still regarded as a pagan capital. The context of the comment, however, suggests otherwise; Salvian is arguing here that no-one can escape his accusations of sin because of their location. If even being in Rome is no excuse, Salvian clearly believes that something about Rome might provide an excuse, and this must surely be the holiness of the city. Granted, the people of Rome attend the circus, but this only supports his contention that there no Roman city, as distinct from a city cleansed by the barbarians at God's command, is free from evil[107]. Thus, it would appear that Rome had become regarded as a Christian city, and was thus not permitted to be the den of iniquity required by Salvian's purposes. If this is the case, Salvian's choice of Carthage rather than Rome is a significant moment in the history of Rome as a pagan capital.

This still, however, poses the question of why choose Carthage, rather than, for example, Antioch, Corinth, Alexandria, Milan, Ravenna, or, indeed, any of the other great cities of the Roman Empire. Most obviously, of course, there is the necessity of distance; Salvian's message is primarily aimed at the inhabitants of Gaul, and the predominant thrust of his argument – crudely, "repent of your sins or be damned" – is somewhat weakened if he claims that not all of Gaul is unremittingly sinful. The city set up in contrast to Trier must, then, be suitably distant. This, however, does not explain why specifically Carthage was chosen. The great cities of the Eastern Roman Empire, of course, did not experience the same pattern of barbarian presence which might so easily be twisted to fit Salvian's purposes, but this still leaves Milan, Ravenna, and Rome if the Gallic cities of Arles and Trier are discounted. Rome has been dealt with above, but it is in Rome, or rather in the literary tradition surrounding Rome, that the answer is to be found. Rome and Carthage, as has been seen, were the great pair of opposing cities in Roman literature, Carthage the antithesis of Rome, always slightly weaker, but nevertheless a great power. If it is the case that, as has been argued, Rome had become the city of God, the ideal "Whore of

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[106] *The Governance of God*, 6.9.
[107] *The Governance of God*, 7.15.

Babylon" to set up in opposition as the epitome of evil must be Carthage. Salvian is drawing upon Roman literary tradition, but once more adapting it to the demands of Christian discourse, adding ideas of righteousness and impurity:

> The Africans, who formerly were never able to conquer the Romans in power and greatness, have now surpassed them in impurity, because they were capable of that one conquest. [108]

The city as soul

For Ruricius, Christian faith could be figured as the heavenly Jerusalem. Salvian and Caesarius, however, go further than this, using, in Salvian's case the city and, in the case of Caesarius, the countryside, as a metaphor for the soul. The rural metaphor is much the more obvious of the two, and inevitably brings to mind both the parable of the good sower[109] and the construction of the soul as a vine in the Gospel of St. John[110]. Caesarius spells out the metaphor, leaving very little to the intelligence of his audience:

> Defend the Lord's flock, the spiritual vineyard of souls... from most wicked beasts and birds, that is, from the Devil and his angels... [111]

This is further expanded upon elsewhere, stating, for example, that priests

> ... are not only ordained to be stewards of fields and cultivators of land, but also to exercise the spiritual cultivation of souls... [112]

And:

> The care of our souls, dearly beloved, is very much like earthly cultivation... Vices should be uprooted and virtues planted... [113]

Less obvious, and indeed somewhat unexpected, are the instances of Caesarius combining urban and rural metaphors, seemingly taking the idea of the soul as land to be cultivated, which does, after all, lend itself very readily to Caesarius' rhetoric, and placing it in an urban context:

> Let us... like good servants and useful farmers of Christ hasten to the spiritual field and heavenly vineyard, that is, to the city or church entrusted to us by God. [114]

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[108] *The Governance of God*, 7.17.
[109] St. Luke, 8.5-15.
[110] St. John, 15.1-8.
[111] *Sermon*, 1.4.
[112] *Sermon*, 1.5.
[113] *Sermon*, 6.4.

Here, we might suspect that the message is intended for an audience containing civic magistrates and dignitaries, with a responsibility for urban affairs. Their field, which, if cultivated properly, will show a harvest of good Christian souls, is the city; Caesarius thus uses the very obvious rural metaphor to impress upon them that they have a spiritual as well as a temporal responsibility to the city.

It is noticeable that it is not until the late fifth and early sixth centuries do Christian writers in Gaul begin to use the countryside in these ways, despite the ease with which the countryside falls into this metaphor. Salvian, as will be seen below, uses the city in this way, but not the countryside, and Ausonius, writing in the fourth century uses neither, showing, crudely, the development of Christian urban rhetoric. In this development, perhaps, lies the explanation for Salvian's metaphorical use of city but not countryside. As Chapter 5 will argue, the fourth and fifth centuries are centuries in which the Church only gradually increased its hold on the city. For much of that period, the countryside was regarded as rustic, its inhabitants as unsophisticated peasants[115]: the Church, perhaps, was unwilling to weaken its hold on the *urbs* by associating itself with the countryside. For Salvian, the city might have been evil, but, as Carthage shows, it could be saved, and implicit in this is the notion that the city is worth saving. That Caesarius was prepared to use rural metaphors, even to the extent of presenting the city as a field and thus bringing the countryside within the city, demonstrates that by the end of the fifth century, the Church felt much more secure in its hold on the city. It may also suggest that the city in general, rather than just Rome, was no longer viewed by Christian writers as a source of evil.

More complex than the rural metaphor is the construction of the city as the Christian soul. Just as the city is a den of evil assailed by the barbarians in their guise as a divine punishment, so it may also be the soul, threatened by its own sins. Death in this life at the hands of the barbarians equates to spiritual death. Both are self-inflicted, since the Christian audience of both Salvian and Caesarius has the knowledge to avoid sin. The roots of the idea of the city as a single human entity can again be found in the Book of Revelation: the Whore of Babylon is the personification of the city of Rome.

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[114] *Sermon*, 1.8.

[115] Hence one possible meaning of the term "pagan": country dwellers. The aim is to blacken paganism by pointing out that its adherents are unsophisticated, and to separate Christianity and paganism by symbolically placing paganism in the countryside while Christianity occupies the city.

Salvian's attribution of the ruin of "another city, not far distant, but almost of the same magnificence"[116] to the sins of their inhabitants makes the link between the physical and the spiritual obvious:

> Is there not the same destruction of both property and morals? Beyond the fact that the two common evils, avarice and drunkenness, had there destroyed all, it came to this at least that the leaders of that very city, in their greed for wine, did not arise from their feasting when the enemy was entering the city. I believe God clearly wished to show them why they were perishing, since at the actual moment of perishing they were doing that very thing through which they had come to perdition... while they drink, gamble, commit adultery, and are mad, they begin to deny Christ. And we wonder after all these things that they have suffered the ruin of their own property, they who long before have gone to pieces mentally! Therefore, let nobody think that city perished only at the time of its own ruin. Where such things are done, the inhabitants had already [morally] perished before they [physically] perished. [117]

Throughout this passage, the spiritual is paired with the temporal, giving the impression of cause and effect, with the pairs drawing ever closer together as Salvian leads his reader to the conclusion that city and soul are the same. Thus, in the first sentence property and morals are linked through the theme of destruction: greed for wine, and thus drunkenness, is a sin, resulting in moral destruction. At the same time, the drunkenness of the city's inhabitants means that they cannot physically defend their city, and it is destroyed. Ruin of property is laid at the door of moral ruin as the pair of themes is drawn closer together, so that in the last two sentences of the passage, when the city is described as perishing, its physical destruction has become far less drastic than its moral destruction. By conflating, as Aristotle did[118], the city and its citizens so that the city becomes the citizen body rather than the physical buildings, Salvian argues that the destruction of the city occurred in a moral sense long before its physical destruction, which is consequent upon the moral destruction; by invoking the person of the citizen, Salvian equates the soul, in its destruction, with the city.

This is a theme picked up by Salvian again at the end of Book 7, in the conclusion to his discussion of Carthage, and it must be seen in the context of Salvian's use of Carthage as the ideal city metamorphosed, through the agency of the barbarians, from the "Whore of Babylon" model. He says, in the very last sentences of the book which have survived into the modern period:

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[116] Believed by the translator to be Metz (see note 40 on p.175), but the exact identity of the city hardly matters. Indeed, Salvian is almost certainly deliberately vague to avoid dispute. The important point for Salvian is that a great city was brought low by the sins of its inhabitants.
[117] *The Governance of God*, 6.13.
[118] Thomas, 2000, p.53-4.

> And we, in our misery, who are so impure, wonder if we are conquered by enemy forces, we who are surpassed by them in character. We wonder if they who curse our evils have taken possession of our property. It is not the natural vigour of their bodies that enables them to conquer us, nor is it our natural weakness that has caused our conquest. Let nobody persuade himself otherwise. Let nobody think otherwise. The vices of our bad lives have alone conquered us. [119]

The key theme here is that of conquest. Through it, Salvian links the ideas of barbarians and vices. Both conquer, the barbarians the city, and vices the Roman population. Through the theme of conquest, then, barbarians and vices become one; if they become one, then the objects of their conquest, city and soul, must also become one. The city is conquered by barbarians; the soul is conquered by vice. Thus, in this sense, the barbarians become more than God's punishment. They become the immoral behaviour which kills the soul. Returning from here to Salvian's descriptions of the physical destructions of cities, we see that they become even more complex:

> Here and there – something that I myself have seen and experienced – lay the nude and torn bodies of both sexes, infecting the eyes of the city as they were torn to pieces by birds and dogs. The deadly stench of the dead brought death to the living. Death was breathed from death. And thus even those who escaped the destruction of the afore-mentioned city suffered the ills of another destruction. [120]

At face value, then Salvian offers a very authentic picture of the aftermath of the sacking of a city. Animals feast on the bodies of the dead while those bodies themselves rot and cause plague. If, on the other hand, we examine this in terms of spiritual death, another picture emerges. The dead are those spiritually destroyed by their sins rather than physically killed by barbarians. Their presence causes not plague, but tarnishes the sins of those who are still good Christians, bringing them, in turn, even closer to spiritual death.

Conclusion

Descriptions of the Gallo-Roman city, then, even from this cursory examination of an extremely complex subject, can be seen to be far more than factual accounts. The city could be many things to the Christian writers of Late Antique Gaul; a warning, an ideal, a metaphor for the soul. Accounts of the city have their origins in Old Testament *topoi*, and in Roman literature, each writer from Ausonius in the fourth century to Caesarius in the early sixth utilising and mixing the two, and adding Christian dialectic to the pot. The concept of the city is thus evolving in Late

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[119] *The Governance of God*, 7.23.
[120] *The Governance of God*, 6.15.

Antique Gaul, retaining its central place in Latin discourse, but being used to express ideas about moral and immoral behaviour. This, however, serves to indicate that ideas of community were central to the Christian Church in Gaul; however much the city might be presented as a place of vice and evil, it was still the most familiar form of community to a Christian audience. The impression given, particularly by Salvian, is that the city may *at present* be evil, but that it can be saved; the point of *De Gubernatione Dei* is partly to point out sins, but, more importantly, to warn sinners so that they will return to the path of righteousness. Despite its apparent dislike of the city, the Church was trying to adopt it and its citizens; at a more sophisticated level, the attitudes towards the city expressed here indicate not dislike, but concern. The strong Biblical tradition of the city as evil was being subverted by its exposure to Gallo-Roman society, in which the city was of enormous importance; the city was evil, but it could be saved and become something more. In Caesarius we can see far more clearly what the city could become if it was saved from sin.

Chapter 2: the Domestic City

As argued in the Introduction, the size of a city is a far less important indication of its significance than the other factors explored in this thesis. Larger or smaller numbers of people gathered on the site of a city did not affect the definition of a Roman city as a city[1]. Indeed, while the lives of the population of the Roman Empire revolved around the city as an administrative, religious, and economic centre, most of them did not live within its walls; instead, they visited it as need arose. The city still maintained its central place in Roman society; it was more important for the services which it provided, and as Chapter 1 has shown, as an idea, than as a centre of population. Nevertheless, the fluctuations in urban population, and, indeed, the wealth of those resident in the city, may be useful indications of a city's significance, especially in the Late Antique period. Richard Reece, for example, argues that, without a population, a city cannot be a city[2]. Broadly speaking, he is correct; it is difficult to argue that a forum surrounded by ruins has any function beyond that of a meeting place, which is a significant step away from a city's function as administrative centre.

The urban population

Sadly, it is possible only to generalise about urban populations in the ancient world; given the silence of ancient writers on even the size of the population of Rome, exact figures are impossible to produce. Perhaps the best that can be hoped for is a position in which one can say that in any given period an urban population was significantly bigger or smaller than in earlier periods. Nevertheless, attempts have been made to estimate the size of urban populations. Most commonly, attempts are made to work out population size using the size of the city itself as a starting point. Comparative evidence must then be deployed, to provide an idea of the number of people resident in a city per hectare, and it is up to the individual scholar to decide which pre-industrial or modern city or cities, from the developed or the third world, best matches conditions in the cities of the ancient world. Largely, attempts have

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[1] Finley, 1985, p.124; Liebeschuetz, 2001, p.2.
[2] Pers. Comm..

concentrated upon Rome, the only ancient city really large enough to bear comparison with more modern cities, and in this case nineteenth century Rome and Paris, and modern Hong Kong, Bombay, and Calcutta, have all been used[3]. Generally, the problem is that more modern societies arguably have different population compositions and thus densities than ancient cities did; more specifically, for the purposes of this thesis, Rome might genuinely bear comparison with pre-industrial and modern cities, but the cities of Roman Britain and Gaul do not[4]. On this basis, Liebeschuetz has suggested comparative evidence of more use to Gaul may be drawn from the Roman army; it is well known that a legionary camp of twenty hectares held about six thousand soldiers – three hundred men per hectare – and Liebeschuetz believes that this figure may be applicable to the Gallic city[5]. On this basis, Trier, with a wall circuit encircling 285 hectares[6], would at its peak have had a population of around 85,500, while Metz, covering seventy hectares, would at its fullest have been home to 21,000 people. Even while the method uses the best available ancient figures for population density, however, it is flawed. Legionaries were crammed into tiny rooms, and barrack blocks provided little more than sleeping space; this is hardly comparable to a Roman house. Granted, the poorer people resident in a city might have lived in such conditions, but we do not know what proportion of the city was given over to such dwellings; certainly, excavation has failed to uncover this kind of building in any of the four cities under consideration, and in cities as comprehensively excavated as Cirencester and Verulamium this may imply that such buildings were not common. Far more common are the spacious houses of the elite, private expression of wealth and status, and not at all reminiscent of cramped barrack blocks. In addition, even while military camps and forts provided training grounds, the quantity of open space is not comparable to the streets and public spaces of the cities. In short, even allowing for the suburban occupation ignored by Liebeschuetz's dependence upon the city walls to define the extent of the urban population, army barracks as a point of comparison give far too high a figure for urban populations.

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[3] See Morley, 1996, p.34-5, for a summary of these attempts and their results.
[4] As Parkin has pointed out, historians should not become bogged down in protracted comparisons with specific modern populations, as if the ancient world as a whole was directly comparable "for even if it was, how would we know?" (Parkin, 1992, p.69).
[5] Liebeschuetz, 2001, p.84-5. His basis for this assumption is far from clear, although these are perhaps the only available figures for population density of any sort in the ancient world.
[6] Liebeschuetz, 2001, p.83.

Alternative methods of gauging the size of urban populations have been attempted. At Rome, figures for the numbers of citizens receiving the corn dole have been used as a starting point, with numbers of freedmen and dependants estimated[7]. It is a method hugely reliant upon guesswork, since the numbers of people other than citizens in Rome cannot be known; in addition, it is again a method only relevant to Rome. In a variation on this approach Richard Duncan-Jones has used urban epigraphy to suggest that a more convincing approach to the estimation of urban population size would be to analyse the records of gifts, particularly feasts, games, and festivals, given to the city, since they often give quantities of food. As Duncan-Jones points out himself, however, while this method can produce figures for the number of people eligible to benefit from these gifts, there is no way of knowing what proportion of the city's population these people constituted[8]. In any case, given the decline of the epigraphic habit in the Late Antique west, not even the raw material exists for this method to be of any use.

The only method which can produce any sort of population figures for Late Antique Gaul and Britain, then, is that of Liebeschuetz, and this produces figures which must be too high, and which can only apply to a city experiencing no fluctuations in population size. The only conclusion which can be drawn is that figures are impossible to produce. The failure of these methods to produce useful results need not, however, be a problem, since the fourth and fifth centuries saw an urban population in flux. It is more important to trace demographic trends than it is to produce exact, or even approximate, figures for the size of the urban population[9].

Economic factors

Before analysing demographic trends in fourth century Britain and Gaul, however, it is worth briefly examining some of the external factors which may have affected the urban populations of these provinces at this period. Through much of the Empire, huge quantities of grain might be sold to or exchanged with the city of Rome and its population of one million people[10]. As Morley has pointed out using the example of Italy, the result of such demand could drastically alter the systems of

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[7] For Late Antique Rome, see Christie, 2000, p.311-2. For a more general survey of attempts to use the corn dole as a basis for estimating the population of Rome in earlier periods, see Morley, 1996, p.36-8.
[8] Duncan-Jones, 1982, p.259-87.
[9] Parkin, 1992, p.4.
[10] Mattingly and Aldrete, 2000.

agricultural production in an area[11]. In Britain and Northern Gaul, too far from Rome for transport of grain to be economically cost-effective, the major market for the agricultural production of the elite was the army, and we might expect the economies of these regions to be similarly affected; by c.300 A.D. these regions had had at least 250 years of supplying the army to change the balance of economic production[12]. Archaeologically, there is little evidence of the economic impact of the army, but we might expect members of the elite to have begun producing far more grain and other commodities than their local city could use, in order to make the most of this opportunity for enrichment[13]. It is worth pointing out that the cities themselves, while not direct consumers of this agricultural production, also benefited from the army, by effectively becoming part of the network which met military demands. Whittaker has pointed out that the army might have a direct relationship with certain estates, and deal directly with the owners; equally, more inscriptions recording the presence of middlemen, *negotiatores*, are found along military supply routes, suggesting that people might be employed by the army to purchase supplies on its behalf[14]. Either way, those who ultimately sold to the army became richer; they thus had more money to spend in their local cities, on food, luxuries, entertainment, meaning that more urban jobs were indirectly reliant upon the flow of money from the army. If this dried up, the elite would become poorer, and this must directly affect the cities.

By c.300, the Roman army was larger than it had ever been before; even on a conservative estimate, the army in the Empire as a whole numbered 500,000 men, and this figure takes no account of support staff and the civilians who were dependent upon the army for their livelihood. Obviously, this meant higher taxation, in order for the state to have sufficient means to supply the army[15]. It also, of course, resulted in greater demand for agricultural produce, and thus in opportunities for the land-owning elite to grow ever richer. The pattern found throughout the following chapters of this thesis reflects this; following the third century slump in urban fortunes, the cities saw

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[11] Morley, 1996.
[12] For more detail on the demands of the army on the agricultural production of Britain (perhaps using the produce of 100,000 acres annually in grain alone), see Salway, 1997, p.446ff.
[13] Greene, 1986, p.76.
[14] Whittaker, 1994, p.104-8.
[15] Lee, 1998, p.220. See also Cameron, 1993b, p.84.

a new influx of money in the early fourth century, and this good fortune is reflected in a wave of monumental building and refurbishment[16].

In the course of the fourth century, however, the British army was involved with attempts of a series of usurpers to claim the imperial purple[17]. Each one, from Constantine onward, took with him a proportion of the three legions based in Britain, gradually draining Britain of troops, and thus gradually removing the source of income of the elite. Valentinian, in the late 360s, responded to the so-called "barbarian conspiracy" of 367 by sending his general, Theodosius, to Britain, together with fresh troops[18]. The new building work at Cirencester and Verulamium at around this time may have been affordable as a result. Any respite was, however, short-lived; in the early fifth century, so the traditional account goes, Honorius recalled the army from Britain in its entirety, following on from three more revolts by usurpers. The source for these events is, however, not entirely reliable; the sixth century Greek historian Zosimus appears to have garbled the histories of more contemporary writers, leading to a great deal of ink being spilt in discussion of the precise events and their chronology[19]. The telling point is perhaps that the last issues of coin to reach Britain in any significant quantity are those of 402; coinage, however many of the population used it in daily life, was transported to Britain primarily to pay the army. Thus, since issues of 404 do not appear on British sites, the army was not present in Britain by 404; this must be a major factor in urban development in the early fifth century[20]. This is not to say, however, that the loss of the army as a market would completely destabilise the urban economy; some members of the elite might become poorer, but they could continue to supply the urban markets. Only those who had given over their land entirely to military supply – and there is no evidence of any family having done so – would be completely ruined. Others might take a drop in income, but there is no reason to believe that supply of the urban markets ceased as a result of the loss of the legions as a market. In addition, while the issue of a British army to replace the lost legions in the fifth century is confused in the absence of fifth century sources, it is not unreasonable to regard the Saxon presence in Britain as comparable to that of the

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[16] This may, of course, be somewhat masked at Trier by the arrival of Constantius Chlorus, and then his son Constantine, and the resultant influx of money associated with the presence of the imperial court.
[17] These are too many to enumerate here. See Salway, 1997, p.233-278.
[18] Salway, 1997, p.278-283.
[19] For a traditional, uncritical, account, see Salway, 1997, ch.16; for a more sophisticated account, which questions the source material, see Esmonde Cleary, 1989, p.136-8.
[20] On the coinage, see Esmonde Cleary, 1989, p.138-9.

Germanic peoples present in Gaul. The standard assumption is that they first appeared as mercenaries, paid to replace the legions[21]. In this case, the loss of a military market cannot have been a problem for long; the incoming Saxons eventually settled, as did the Franks in Gaul, but initially they must have needed support; the elite cannot have remained poor when faced with this new market for their produce. In short, there is no reason for the city to have starved, since there is no reason for rural supply of urban markets to have ceased. In addition, while the British elite may have been initially affected by the loss of the legions as a market, other opportunities for enrichment swiftly appeared[22]. What should not be played down, however, is the extent of the chaos which the withdrawal of not only the legions, but the entire administrative hierarchy of Roman Britain must have caused. The Roman system of government, into which the cities fitted, ceased practically overnight to have meaning; the posts and titles of the elite no longer carried weight. The city was reduced to a single, lone, administrative unit, a survival of an administrative system which suddenly no longer existed[23].

The development of the armies of the Rhine frontier over the same period is a little more complex; the situation is complicated by confusion over who controlled the army, and what should be defined as a Roman soldier[24]. The increasing use of mercenaries from among the Germanic peoples who had their origin north of the Rhine by the Roman state to fight their wars gave official power to Germanic war-leaders. In theory, these men owed allegiance to the Roman emperor; in practice, their power within the system allowed them to lay the foundations of the "successor kingdoms". These men and their warriors were part of the Roman system which eventually they replaced, but their burgeoning power pushed traditional Roman authority and influence back towards Italy and the Eastern Empire[25]. Nevertheless, for the fifth century at least, they constituted a Roman army of sorts, and thus created a market for agricultural production. This may provide a useful model for the fifth century situation in Britain.

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[21] For a fuller discussion, see Jones, 1996; Myres, 1989, ch. 3, 4, 5.
[22] The dating of the *Adventus Saxonum* is contentious, as is its initial scale (see Jones, 1996). Certainly, however, the Saxons began to appear in Britain within a generation, at most two, of the withdrawal of the legions.
[23] Esmonde Cleary, 1989, ch.4. See Chapter 3 of this thesis for further discussion of this point.
[24] For an account of the increasing use of Germanic mercenaries, see Wallace-Hadrill, 1996, chs.2,3,4, and 6.
[25] On this contentious topic, see, for example, James, 1982; 1988, and Wallace-Hadrill, 1996.

At the same time, legal changes affected the urban economies of Britain and Gaul. Very simply, for the period of the early Empire, local authorities, based obviously in the cities, kept the revenue from local taxes. Constantine changed this, diverting this revenue into central funds; in addition, probably under Constantius II and thus at some point in the middle of the fourth century, the lands and endowments which the cities had built up over preceding centuries were transferred to the emperor. Within a very short space of time, therefore, the cities of the entire Empire lost the major sources of their public revenue[26]. Some financial independence was returned to the cities by Julian, but his successors reversed this decision; only in 374 was more permanent relief granted when the cities were permitted to keep one third of the income from local taxes, together with one third of the income from the properties which they had once owned[27]. As the following sections will demonstrate, however, this seems only to have affected the public buildings in cities, which in their decline and refurbishment appear to reflect this changing pattern of civic funding. The elite themselves, from the evidence of their private buildings, seem to have been largely unaffected; presumably, while they might have been expected to make good this deficit in civic income, they chose not to do so.

Various factors, therefore, had an influence upon traditional sources of urban income, both public and private, in the course of the fourth century. The size of the army increased, and then, in Britain at least, decreased, so that the amount of money made by the elite from the produce of their villas must have varied. At the same time, the imperial treasury decreased civic incomes, albeit with a small increase at the end of the fourth century. These factors should be seen to have had an influence upon the cities of Gaul and Britain, but none should have been catastrophic. The cities continued to demand supply, and thus the elite continued to have a market for their goods.

The urban population in flux

It is worth pointing out at this stage the extent to which our knowledge of patterns of urban residence in the ancient world, especially among the elite, is based upon a very narrow range of evidence. As Percival has pointed out, our knowledge of

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[26] Salway, 1997, p.413.
[27] Salway, 1997, p.413-4.

the villa and of its place within society is dependant upon a mixture of written sources from Rome and Italy dated to the late Republic and early Empire, and archaeological excavations largely centred upon Britain[28]. From this we derive a picture of an elite class which owned property in both city and countryside, and which divided its time between town-house and villa[29]. The town-house was intended as a base for involvement in politics and for meeting an urban clientele, while the villa was both a source of income and an idyllic refuge from city life[30]. For anyone with a background in Roman history, it is automatic to apply this model to the study of city life; the expectation is a member of the elite should own two houses, and that this should reflect a separation between his involvement in urban politics and his role as a farmer. As Reece has pointed out, however, that this should apply in all areas and at all periods of the Roman Empire is an assumption[31]. It need not be the case that owners of villas, particularly those close to the city, also owned a town house, nor, indeed, that those living on the edges of cities did not walk out from the city to farm their land. Simply, the city walls need not be regarded as a defining line between urban and rural activities, and it is worth remembering that caution should be exercised when attempting to apply the traditional model of elite town and country housing to the cities of Late Antique Gaul and Britain.

Up until c.350, Verulamium appears to have functioned as it always had; archaeologically, the traces of the "third century crisis", marked by houses and public buildings either falling into disrepair or growing shabby, had been wiped away[32]. Houses which had shown signs of disrepair were renovated, while several new ones were built. In insula 3, for example, one of the largest private houses excavated in the city, house 2, was enlarged; walls were rebuilt, floors relaid, and a corridor was added to the south-east wing together with four new rooms to the north-east suite[33]. At the same time, building 2 in insula 21 had its south-west wing destroyed, and its north-east wing reconstituted[34]. Alongside this, several new houses were built; in insula 5, for example, building 1 was constructed. In plan, it was similar to a winged corridor villa, and contained twenty two rooms including, unusually for Verulamium, a private

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[28] Percival, 1976, ch.2.
[29] Percival, 1976, ch.6. For an overview, see Reece, 1988, ch. Set 1.
[30] See Chapter 1 for a more detailed account of Roman attitudes to the countryside.
[31] Reece, 1988, Set 1 p.74-5.
[32] Branigan, 1973, p.116.
[33] Branigan, 1973, p.118.
[34] Frere, 1983, p.166-176.

bath suite[35]. Money was pouring back into the city, allowing private householders to spend money on private displays of wealth. The source of this money must be the newly enlarged army; whether the elite of Verulamium were making money from supplying the army directly from their country estates, or whether the new houses belonged to merchants enriched by the increased demand for supplies cannot be known, but, whichever is the case, the elite of Verulamium were displaying signs of increased wealth.

From around the middle of the fourth century, however, the elite of Verulamium appear to have experienced something of a decline, a misfortune which has been tentatively laid by Keith Branigan at the door of the Imperial agent Paul, who exacted revenge for British support of the usurper Magnentius[36]. The south-east quarter once again fell into disrepair; the mosaic floors of the houses in this area were out, and there was obviously no money available to repair them, since they were found by the excavators patched with clay and pieces of tile, or even replaced with simple bare clay. The hypocausts also collapsed, the occupants of the houses being forced to make hearths in the middle of formerly fine floors in order to keep warm and cook[37]; hardly evidence of a traditional Roman upper class lifestyle, as these houses had displayed up until c.350. It should be asked of these houses whether they were still inhabited by their original occupants, who had become impoverished, or whether the wealthy had moved out of the area, leaving their former abodes to fall into decay. It seems unlikely that misfortune should strike all the residents of an area at once, but this can be rationalised by putting forward the argument that perhaps this area, unlike Cirencester, where similar decay has not been observed, strongly supported Magnentius. There is nothing to support this view, bar the collapse of fortunes in the south-east of Verulamium, where it seems unlikely in the extreme that all the residents of an area would move out together. An alternative, less extreme, explanation, might of course be that there is no hard and fast rule, binding all who lived in that area of the city, but that some of the wealthy fell upon hard times, the resulting decay prompting others to move away, leaving their former homes to squatters. One point, though, counts against this. The triangular temple in this part of the city continued to be well-maintained, suggesting a continuity of occupation, for

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[35] Branigan, 1973, p.118.
[36] Branigan, 1973, p.126.
[37] Branigan, 1973, p.130.

squatters would not have been so concerned with the upkeep of a temple with which they had no affiliation. This would not necessarily have demanded the time and money of all local residents, though bearing in mind the level of living evidenced, few can have had much spare money; perhaps more significant is the collapse of the theatre into nothing more than a rubbish tip for the forum. The theatre was entertainment for the educated and those with the leisure time to visit it; in other words, for the elite. The theatre was no longer in use from c.380[38]. This suggests that there was in Verulamium no-one with the wealth and inclination to pay, as was the system, for its maintenance.

Whether Branigan was correct to lay this decline at the door of the imperial agent Paul is, however, debateable. It seems profoundly unlikely that the presence of an imperial agent should have affected one city so badly, but not another; Cirencester has no evidence of a similar process at the same time period. It might be argued that the people of Verulamium were simply more supportive of the usurper Magnentius than were those of Cirencester, but the archaeological pattern found at Verulamium does not support the theory that the mid-century decline of the city was caused by confiscations. Were this the case, then perhaps those who suffered would be impoverished, but the estates lost would be sold on; the wealth would be transferred elsewhere within the city, and there is no evidence of this. A better explanation, if the decline of Verulamium must be tied to political events, is that the elite of Verulamium offered Magnentius financial support, and that in his defeat they suffered significant financial losses.

In the same period as Cirencester was enjoying sufficient prosperity to extend its forum (see Chapter 3), Verulamium was experiencing a similar renewal. Around about 380, the temple close to the theatre was restored[39]. This provides evidence of elite participation in the life of the town, since not only would the wealthy take responsibility for such public works, but the priesthood was drawn from the upper classes. A new columned gateway was also built; yet more evidence of money enough in some hands to be spent on public displays of largesse. At the same time the insulae around the forum experienced building activity; Insula XIV received a new house, only consisting of four small rooms and a verandah, but with hypocaust heating and tessellated floors, suggesting the presence of some wealth. The house constructed in

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[38] Branigan, 1973, p.135.
[39] Wheeler, 1936, p.31; p.132-3.

Insula XXVII was far larger and more ostentatious, consisting as it did of three linked wings surrounding a courtyard. Most of the rooms had tessellated or mosaic floors, and it lasted well into the fifth century[40].

While members of the elite of Verulamium underwent a decline, reflected in their houses, in the second half of the fourth century, there is no evidence for a similar process at Cirencester. Indeed, the story would seem to be rather one of increasing wealth, leading to the interesting conclusion that the traditional model of elite behaviour in Late Antiquity – the "flight of the *curiales*", discussed in Chapter 3 – is partially accurate; that the upper classes did spend increasing amounts on their rural villas. If the evidence from Cirencester is correct, however, this expenditure was not at the expense of the cities; the elite had simply become rich enough to continue to spend money in the cities, and at the same time to improve their own standard of living, both in the countryside and in their urban residences. Wealthy occupation appears to have continued into the fifth century; in Insula IV, in particular, building was still taking place after 388, when a large house with two wings and mosaic floors was constructed. Similar occupation can be seen in Insulae XI and XIV, buildings in both of which contain occupation layers below the latest floors which can be dated to the late fourth or early fifth century[41]. In all, of the eleven insulae which had been investigated, three show signs of elite occupation into the fifth century; all of them grouped around the east side of the forum. This would suggest a continuity of personnel among the elite classes, and also that the forum continued until late in the Roman period to comprise the heart of the city, around which were situated the more prestigious residential areas; more prestigious since every resident and visitor might be expected to come to the forum, and thus to see these houses.

This is not, however, to say that no members of the elite lived in other areas of Cirencester; indeed, it is one of the features which distinguishes Cirencester from other British cities in this period that while areas such as Insula IV demonstrate social stability through continuity of occupation, other areas of the city show the gradual enrichment of other people. Whether or not these people would have been regarded as full members of the elite is impossible to say; how they may have gained their newfound wealth will be considered below. It is tempting to imagine scorn on the part of the longer-established members of the elite for those more recently come into

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[40] Branigan, 1973, p.133-4.
[41] McWhirr 1986, p.245.

money, and a form of two-tier elite, as typified by the 'old rich' and 'nouveau riche' divide of early twentieth century Britain, a form of industrialist versus aristocrat, but this is mere speculation. In any case, there is absolutely no evidence that the old and new rich of Cirencester had any different an attitude to political activity; it should be remembered, though, that it is only possible to identify wealth, not social status. One may not have guaranteed the other, but it is absolutely impossible to make a reasonable case out along these lines. Money, in the end, allowed the elite to pay for public works, and thus attract political support; this was patently an option open to all, however they gained their money, and it is a convincing argument that those new to the elite would take part in elite activities to demonstrate their new status.

That the elite class of Cirencester was fluid is most obviously demonstrated by a group of three buildings (termed Buildings 1, 2, and 3, of which three was apparently an outbuilding and is thus unimportant) developed in the early fourth century, situated just within the eastern wall of Cirencester. That this site was very much on the margins of the city, away from the monumental heart, is an impression confirmed by the excavators' discovery that in order to inhabit the site, the fourth century builders had had to use rubble to raise the foundations above the water level of the nearby stream[42]. This surely marks the site out as one which was unlikely to be popular as an area for occupation; the excavators, due to a lack of time, were unable to penetrate below the upper levels, and so it is impossible to discuss earlier use of this area. The limited excavation was able only to identify three broad layers in the site: material below the floors, brought, from the quantity of pottery, from elsewhere; a period of occupation and alteration; and a period of abandonment, marked by an accumulation of rubble on the floor surfaces[43].

It is the period of occupation which is particularly interesting for discussion of the composition of the upper classes of Roman Cirencester. The pottery found in the rubble beneath the floors, together with coins of Hadrian and Caracalla, date the original buildings to sometime after the period 270-300[44]. After this date there is evidence of occupation by people of some wealth; Buildings 1 and 2 were significantly altered during the course of the fourth century, although dating is extremely difficult, given that no legible coins and very little pottery were found in

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[42] McWhirr, 1986, p.21.
[43] McWhirr, 1986, p.21.
[44] McWhirr, 1986, p.23.

the occupation layers. The pottery beneath the baths attached to the north side of Building 1 suggests a date for construction after 330, but no absolute date for later alterations can be given, and the excavators were unable to determine whether all the alterations were made concurrently or gradually[45]. This last is significant; gradual alteration might suggest the slow enrichment of an original occupant, who improved his home as he could afford, while it could be argued that all the improvements being made together implied a large amount of capital, and thus suggest a wealthy man moving to the site. The second possibility opens up several questions; it might be asked where such a man had come from; whether he was local, or was from another area. More importantly, it should be asked why a wealthy man would choose such a peripheral site in which to live, so far from the prestigious residential areas around the forum, where his wealth might be more easily seen and remarked upon. The picture of an occupant growing gradually richer seems the more likely, especially when taken in context with a similar gradual enrichment evident in several villas close to Cirencester; notably Barnsley Park and Whittington (see below). If ownership of such a villa and this site together is posited, several more interesting questions are raised; how the money was made to own both, and of which did ownership come first. In other words, it is possible to see a scenario in which a merchant became gradually richer, both improving his house in the city, and buying and improving a rural site as a mark of elite status, and an attempt to make money from agriculture in a more socially acceptable way. Equally, a case can be made out in which a farmer became rich, and attempted to enter civic society by buying a site for a town house. Both possibilities will be considered below, as part of discussion of the economy of the city.

In terms of the detail of the site itself, the evidence for gradual enrichment of the occupant is relatively clear. In summary, the northernmost of the three buildings (Building 1) had added a suite of heated rooms to the west, interpreted as a bath-house, together with a kitchen and other service rooms to the north, and to the east and south a series of living rooms with mosaic floors. In addition, a porch was built on the south side, providing a more impressive entrance for visitors than a mere door, and an outbuilding was constructed on the far, north, side of the house, out of sight; this may have been a store room of some sort. The larger rooms were floored with mosaics, and provided with hypocaust heating; concrete signs both of wealth and of a

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[45] McWhirr, 1986, p.31.

desire to use that wealth to live in the accepted upper class Roman fashion, thus demonstrating that wealth[46]. It is impossible to tell whether the occupant was accustomed to living in this way, or whether he was trying to demonstrate a new-found status, and thus gain acceptance from the city's traditional elite. The marginal site on the edge of the city would suggest the latter; a rich man moving to the city from elsewhere could presumably have afforded to move directly into the prestigious Insulae around the forum.

It is unfortunate that this site was not further excavated, for the relationship between Buildings 1 and 2 is worthy of more attention than that given to it by the excavators. Building 2 is very similar to its neighbour, with hypocausts and mosaic floors in the larger rooms. There is, however, no bath suite, and a wall links the eastern ends of both structures, creating an enclosed space between the two. The excavators were unwilling to speculate on this, beyond pointing out that although Building 2 had no bath-house, as might be expected in what was effectively an urban villa, its mosaics were too fine for this to be a service building, subordinate to its neighbour[47]. One might argue that two neighbours underwent a similar process of enrichment, but the joining wall is an anomaly, for it brings the two houses together, nearly as one. J. T. Smith, in *Roman Villas: a Study in Social Structure* (1997), has put forward the hypothesis that villas were places of multiple occupation by several families. While the book itself is extremely weak[48], it is an interesting proposition to consider in the light of this site. The two buildings are linked, suggesting that they were considered as one, and that therefore more space was needed than could be provided by one site alone. There is no reason, however, bearing in mind the weaknesses of Smith's book, to see two or more families sharing the site. More convincing is a picture of a family gradually expanding in standing, and either buying the nearby building, or beginning to convert it if they already owned it, planning to attach it to the original residence; the joining wall may be seen as the initial line for a corridor or even a series of buildings that was never built, but which would have created a villa along the lines of a winged corridor house[49]. This, too, would support the idea of a family becoming gradually richer, and gradually using their wealth to acquire the attributes of upper class Roman life.

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[46] McWhirr, 1986, p.23-45.
[47] McWhirr, 1986, p.45-77.
[48] See Morley's review in *Classical Review*, Vol. XLIX, 1999, pp.199-201.
[49] Collingwood, 1930, p.115.

In Cirencester, then, a decreasing number of elite houses survived into the fifth century. These had been constructed towards the end of the fourth century as the British cities were, very briefly and on a small scale, revitalised. The pattern is the same at Verulamium. In insula 14, building 3 was constructed in the period c.375-85, as a "small and simple", in Frere's words, dwelling[50]. It was reconstructed at a later date, but this cannot, in the absence of coinage, be dated; the very absence of coinage, however, might be taken to indicate a date after the last issues if coin reached Britain in 402. It continued in use for some time, however; the kitchen area was re-floored four times, while the mosaic floor in the main room was completely worn away by use. On this basis, Frere suggests that the house lasted until at least c.430-40[51]. On a far grander scale, insula 27 has produced evidence of a large, three winged, building constructed in c.380. The floor of the corridor linking the wings, and at least seven other rooms were tessellated, and three rooms had mosaic floors; the impression given is of great wealth. Again, later work cannot be dated, but the building survived in this form through three phases of occupation, before being levelled, and replaced with a large timber hall or barn, in perhaps the middle of the fifth century. This was subsequently knocked down, and the last use of the site is marked by the line of a large pipe; someone still living in Verulamium, although otherwise archaeologically invisible, still wanted water piped into what remained of the city, and commanded the resources to have this carried out[52].

It is a matter of some regret that similar analysis cannot be carried out for the cities of Trier and Metz. At Trier, simply, not a single house plan has been excavated in its entirety[53]. Insula E4 (see figure 3) evidently contained several rich fourth century houses, for here a group of rich mosaics has been found, including the famous Kornmarkt mosaic, discussed in Chapter 5[54]. Little more than this can be said, however, with the result that fluctuations in the size and wealth of the population of Trier cannot, sadly, be discussed.

Excavation at Metz, while providing far less detail than is available for Cirencester and Verulamium, allows the discussion of an overall picture of demographic change (see figures 8-14). As Halsall says, until c.350 Metz appears to

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[50] Frere, 1983, p.93.
[51] Frere, 1983, p.93-101.
[52] Branigan, 1973, p.133-35; Frere, 1983, p.212-226.
[53] Wightman, 1970, p.119-20.
[54] Wightman, 1970, p.120.

have functioned as it always had; after the middle of the fourth century, however, the population, at least at face value, began to slip away from the city[55]. It is a pattern which can be clearly seen in the archaeological record: excavations produce evidence of occupation up to c.350, but the number of excavations producing evidence of occupation after this date declines for the period c.350-500[56]. The decline is spectacular. For the period c.270-c.350, twenty seven sites show evidence of occupation within Metz and in its suburbs; between c.350 and c.400, this drops to six, while for the following century there are only two sites. Only two sites consistently show occupation; one in the centre of the city, and one around one hundred metres outside the walls, to the south east. Coin finds are randomly scattered through the city; that they stop in c.400 indicates that few people were still visiting the city centre at the end of the fourth century[57]. At face value, at least, Metz was in greater decline than Cirencester and Verulamium at the same period.

That Metz was in better condition than might at first appear is suggested by two things. Firstly, while few houses are known in the period c.350-c.400, and almost none in the fifth century, Metz retained some significance. The north of the city appears, on the evidence of a fifth century layer of organically rich dark earth, to have been farmed; the basilica-type building was constructed on the site of the later St-Pierre-aux-Nonnains at the end of the fourth century (see Chapter 3); the churches continued to be built throughout the later fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries; and at some point in the first half of the fifth century the oratory was constructed (see Chapter 4)[58]. All indicate that money was being spent upon the city, indicating that at the very least it retained sufficient significance to warrant financial outlay; in addition, while a church is a statement of Christian presence and power, it also demands the presence of a congregation near enough to use it on at least a weekly basis. Secondly, in the 560s, the Austrasian Frankish kings adopted Metz as their principal urban residence[59]. This in itself does not indicate continuity of occupation of the site; the gap between the last evidence of large scale occupation of the city centre in c.350 and the 560s is too great for later use to indicate continuity. What is interesting, however, is that for the period c.550-c.600 only two sites show evidence of occupation, and for the period

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[55] Halsall, 1995, p.224.
[56] Halsall, 1996, p.254.
[57] Halsall, 1995, p.225-229. This does not include the evidence from the amphitheatre, or the churches and oratory; these are discussed separately in Chapter 4.
[58] On the later development of Metz, see Halsall, 1995, p.231ff.
[59] Halsall, 1995, p.231-3.

c.600-c.700 this increases to only five, excluding the many churches[60]. Given the significance of this city in the period after c.560, far more evidence of occupation might be expected; if this is absent from the archaeological record for this period, then presumably archaeological excavation has concentrated upon the wrong sites; the same may well be true for the period 350-500.

The potential for an urban population in the later fourth and fifth centuries is, therefore, present. The presence of so many Christian sites in this period (see Chapter 4) argues for an urban population to both attend services in these churches and to provide the means to pay for their construction and upkeep. There are, then, two points to be examined: the whereabouts of the population, and the reason for their movement from the city centre.

On the basis of the account of Gregory of Tours of the Hunnish sack of Metz in 451, discussed in the Introduction, Halsall has argued that the areas of occupation of Metz must lie outside the city wall[61]. If Gregory is to be believed, then this is the only way in which the Huns could have destroyed the city and slaughtered the population, for there is no evidence for destruction of this period within the city walls. Gregory, of course, as has been pointed out, should not be believed; the presence of the Huns was merely a convenient peg on which to hang a moralising story about the fate awaiting bad Christians. Nevertheless, Halsall, although inspired by the wrong reasons, must be correct; the population of Metz must have moved beyond the city walls, most probably into the area to the immediate south east which has been barely excavated. It is telling that the only excavation in this area has produced evidence of occupation right up to the end of the fifth century. That it might be one occupied site among many is implied by evidence from elsewhere in Gaul; Tours and Limoges, for example, have both produced evidence of a shift of population from the city centre into the suburbs, as has Cologne[62].

This movement is easily explained by the presence of the suburban churches. Obviously, these provided a religious focus, but they were more than this, as subsequent chapters discuss. They were the seats of clergy and bishops, who provided patronage and who were thus a source of favours and of charitable giving (see

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[60] Halsall, 1995, p.234-5.
[61] Halsall, 1995, p.228-231.
[62] Halsall, 1996, p.248; Liebeschuetz, 2001, p.84. Traditionally, archaeologists have concentrated upon city centres rather than suburbs, since city centres contained the monumental buildings. Such suburban excavation as has taken place has concentrated upon cemeteries and upon Christian monumental buildings.

Chapters 3 and 4). In the period after c.350, when city revenues were at a low after the redirection to the imperial treasury of the traditional civic income from local taxes and ownership of land, the Church was the major source of urban income (see below). The bishops were also becoming the source of civic administration and justice (see Chapter 3). These factors together must have pulled people to the churches not only from the city but from surrounding areas, not only to live, but, more significantly, to take part in Christian liturgy, to bring cases before the bishop, to pay tithes, and to receive patronage. The best place to advertise wealth and status was thus no longer in the city centre, where visitors to the city used to come, and might marvel at a grand house, but as close to the churches as possible; suburban sites, close to the churches, were the best places for the elite to advertise themselves, especially since the Church had removed so much of the opportunity for elite competition and advancement (see Chapters 3 and 4). The growing power of the Church, therefore, provided a stimulus for the elite to move their place of residence within the city environs.

In Metz, therefore, we can see not the decline of the classical city, but its evolution. The presence of the Christian clergy in the suburbs provided a pull on the urban population, dragging them away from the city centres; the archaeological record thus provides a physical indication of the change of the city from a classical to a Christian community, the movement of the population away from the traditional foci of the classical city an indication that, physically, the Christian city was far more dispersed, less focussed on a single area, than its predecessor. The British city underwent the same process of dispersal of the population away from the city centre, but in this case there is no reason to think that it reformed around different foci. The last evidence of occupation of Cirencester and Verulamium comes still from the city centres, indicating a last few families clinging to the remains of the classical city; the apparent disappearance of the populations of all three cities in the second half of the fourth century is coincidental. Thus, the date of c.350 for the beginning of this process in both Metz and Verulamium is also coincidental; the elite of Verulamium were impoverished, while the population of Metz chose to move away from the centre of the classical city to be closer to the centres of the Christian city.

The rural population in flux

Almost nothing is known archaeologically of lower class life in the countryside; excavation - driven largely by chance discovery of sites, and this in turn driven by the wealth of those sites leaving remains which are easily found - has concentrated largely upon the villas of the rich. While, doubtless, other villas remain to be found, in both Gaul and Britain sufficient sites have been excavated to allow patterns to be observed and conclusions drawn[63]. The result is that the occupation of the countryside by at least the rich in the fourth and fifth centuries can be compared to occupation of the cities in the same period. The two must be linked: as Percival has pointed out, if a villa became self-sufficient, then it was separated from the very world which defined it, and therefore ceased to be a villa[64]. To remain a villa, it was reliant upon a relationship with the city, and with its markets; the city, in turn, was reliant upon the villa economy to supply at least its basic needs, and especially its demand for food.

The gradual decline of the housing in the city of Verulamium from the middle of the fourth century has been discussed above; it is a pattern echoed in the villas of the Chilterns around Verulamium. No villa buildings survive in their original, stone-built, form into the fifth century, to match the longevity of the last few elite houses within Verulamium. Gorhambury has produced no coins later than 348, putting its end in perhaps the 350s[65]. The evidence from Latimer, meanwhile, shows a gradual decline from c.350, lasting perhaps fifty years. The south wing was the first to be abandoned and closed off from the rest of the building, followed by the suite of baths, which was used as a rubbish dump until, around A.D. 400, most of the tessellated floors having been poorly patched, the rest of the villa was deserted by its occupants. It should be noted, however, that when the building was finally abandoned, a blocking structure was erected across the front corridor, shutting off access to the villa; this must be interpreted as an attempt to prevent anyone else from taking possession of the buildings, surely an indication that the owners intended to return[66]. This attempt to prevent entrance by anyone else would support evidence from other villas in the

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[63] That villas remain to be discovered is indicated by the televised excavations of two large villas, previously unknown, by Channel 4's "Time Team" in the last few years. Detailed publication of these sites would be extremely useful, since both were wealthy, but thus far publication has been limited to populist volumes of extremely limited use to more scholarly study.
[64] Percival, 1987, p.5.
[65] Neal, 1978, p.56.
[66] Branigan, 1973, p.136-8.

Chilterns, where the last phases of occupation seem to have been by squatters. At Saunderton, Totternhoe, and Great Wymondley fires were lit on floors when the hypocausts could no longer be repaired, rubbish was allowed to accumulate on the floors, and any building work carried out tended to be crude dry stone walling; at all three sites, the process of decline to this state appears to have begun in the second half of the fourth century, and the last phases of decline do not post-date c.400[67]. At Northchurch and Park Street, no coins have been found of a date later than 364, suggesting a date not far into the final quarter of the fourth century for their end. The early fifth century, however, saw new building work on the sites of both Totternhoe and Latimer. At Totternhoe, the gateway was pulled down, and the stone used to build two small buildings, while at Latimer four phases of building have been identified over the courtyard of the villa building in the period after the villa building itself had ceased to be used. All four phases of later building were in timber, and were associated with quantities of coarse domestic pottery[68].

Gadebridge and Boxmoor villas present a slightly different pattern of fourth century development. On the one hand, Gadebridge underwent an enormous programme of rebuilding work in the early fourth century, including extensions to the south, north west, and north east. In addition, a little later, in c.325, the bath house was rebuilt on a huge scale, so that it reached something approaching the dimensions of the Great Bath at Bath; far grander, in other words, than would be expected in a villa, and thus indicative of great wealth[69]. Boxmoor, two and a half kilometres from Gadebridge, on the other hand, was reduced in size from six to five rooms; the excavators suggested that it became incorporated into the Gadebridge estate, but it is equally possible that the owner of Boxmoor was simply becoming poorer[70].

Both sites appear to have declined and been knocked down at much the same time. The rubble found by excavators covering and sealing the baths at Gadebridge contained coins of 353, indicating a date for destruction in the third quarter of the fourth century, and only thirty or forty years after so much money was spent on the baths[71]. The owners of the villa, then, either sold up and left their villa or suffered a sudden reversal of fortunes; again, given the date, they may have suffered in the

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[67] Branigan, 1973, p.136.
[68] Branigan, 1973, p.138-141.
[69] Neal, 1978, p.50ff.
[70] Neal, 1970, p.161; Neal, 1978, p.50.
[71] Neal, 1974, p.76.

aftermath of Magnentius' rebellion. Certainly, the new owners took a deliberate decision to destroy the villa buildings, and, apparently, not to live on the site; that the villa estate continued to be owned by someone is indicated by the continued use of the fields. Shortly after the villa was destroyed, stockades were put up over the site; the only reason which springs to mind to explain them is animal husbandry, a conclusion supported by a change in the composition of the bone finds towards greater quantities of sheep and cattle. According to the excavator, the size of the stockades was sufficient to supply the entire population of Verulamium[72]. Certainly, the scale of the husbandry evident here, together with the emphasis upon specialisation, would suggest a single owner; the estate had not fallen into the hands of the peasantry. One possibility is that the army were granted the land; another is an absentee landlord, who needed no house on the property, and could afford to specialise[73]. At nearby Boxmoor, where, with the exception of a single coin of Arcadius, the coinage record stops in the mid-fourth century, indicating a date for destruction not long after c.350, an imperial lead seal was found, indicating the presence of perhaps a bailiff[74]. If this is the case, then the estate moved out of private hands and into public ownership. Again, given the date, this too may be attributed to the aftermath of Magnentius' revolt. The pattern overall in the villas of the Chilterns, then, is of the end of villa life, as marked by the traditional, stone-built, country houses of the elite, came in the period c.350-c.400, in some cases swiftly, in others after a period of decline. On a few sites – notably Gadebridge, Totternhoe, and Latimer – the villa buildings were replaced by timber constructions in c.400. In the case of Gadebridge, this perhaps happened earlier, and the villa almost certainly had a new owner. At the other two, we cannot be so certain; equally, we cannot be certain that whoever constructed the new buildings owned and farmed the villa estates. That the land itself continued to be cultivated is implied by the fact that Verulamium continued to function as a market at least into the early fifth century (see below for further discussion).

The process of gradual enrichment seen in the houses of late fourth century Cirencester is reflected in the villas of the Cirencester area. Of the twenty three known[75] within a ten mile radius of Cirencester, Withington was excavated in 1811-

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[72] Neal, 1974, p.83.
[73] On specialisation in villa economies, see Branigan, 1987.
[74] Neal, 1970, p.161.
[75] The earliest excavated was Bibury Mill in the seventeenth century; the latest was "in the vicinity of Cirencester", as a televised excavation by 'Time Team'.

12, Bibury Mill in the seventeenth century, and Compton Grove in 1931[76]. Given the state of archaeological knowledge even in the early twentieth century, it is unsurprising that excavation was poor, and publication more so; at least in these three cases some reports survive, whereas not even the site of the Coln St. Aldwyns villa is now known[77]. Of those well enough excavated to be of much use, all display a pattern markedly different to that displayed by the villas around Verulamium; they were occupied well into the fifth century and display a high level of material culture, whereas those from Verulamium were largely abandoned in the decades immediately after 350[78]. Of those around Cirencester, Barnsley Park and Whittington show signs of development in the second half of the fourth century, as does Chedworth.

Chedworth was extended in the early fourth century, when the addition of rooms and verandahs created a garden court. At the same time, the dining room was enlarged, the range in which it sat having its north end converted into a new bath suite; the original bath suite became sauna baths. Later in the fourth century – the dating is unclear – a large dining suite was added to the east end of the north wing[79]. Throughout the course of much of the fourth century, therefore, the inhabitants of this villa were getting steadily richer, and were extending their house to demonstrate their growing wealth. Having not only survived but continued to grow richer through the civic troubles of the early and mid fourth century, and the loss of urban income, perhaps by refusing to shoulder the burden of making good the deficiencies in Cirencester's income, it is surprising that the coin sequence should end in 383 at Chedworth, placing the end of this villa in the late fourth century[80]. Chedworth at this point was at a peak; the villa had been in existence since the early second century, but thirty two per cent of the coins found on the site date to 364-383[81]. Thus, Chedworth had never been richer.

It is tempting to argue that Barnsley Park, on the other hand, never quite achieved a sufficient level of material culture to be counted a fully Romanised villa; it has hypocausts and a bath-house, but few coins and no mosaics or tesselated floors

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[76] Goodburn, 1972, p.9-12.
[77] At Coln St. Aldwyns, all that has survived to the present day are the columns re-used in a nearby pigsty (Goodburn, 1972, p.28.).
[78] Branigan, 1973, p.121-128.
[79] Goodburn, 1972, p.7-8.
[80] Goodburn, 1972, p.29.
[81] Goodburn, 1972, p.37.

have been discovered[82]. Indeed, it was only in the mid-fourth century that the building on the site took on the appearance of a winged corridor villa; up until this period, the buildings were simple, round, dry stone structures[83]. The conclusion which should be drawn from this is that only in the mid-fourth century did the owner of the site achieve sufficient wealth to do what his neighbours at, for example, Chedworth, had done in the early second century; namely, display his "upward-mobility" through his home. Even then, while he could afford a home that had the appearance of a villa, and some Romanised facilities, evidently he could not afford the more decorative aspects, such as mosaics. Perhaps Barnsley Park was never completed because resources were being spent upon a town house, which itself raises the question of whether a town house was felt to be an essential part of elite life. The answer to this must surely be that it was, since involvement in civic life demanded time; the lower classes in need of favours must be able to visit their patron without travelling miles into the countryside.

This must have been particularly true for the owners of the villa at Whittington, around twelve miles to the north of Cirencester, and as such probably the furthest villa from the city[84]. Here a similar process of development can be seen, but one which started in the third century, and therefore resulted by the mid-fourth century in a Romanised villa containing not only hypocausts but a new, separate, bath-house and several tessellated and mosaic floors. A number of coins were also found, possibly indicating a more prosperous site than at Barnsley Park. Unusually, however, very few bricks, *tegulae* and *imbrices*, were found; the villa was constructed almost entirely from local materials[85]. Possibly the cost of transportation of materials to such a remote site proved prohibitive.

The end of Barnsley Park is not easy to date, given the lack of coinage on the site. Its last phases, however, saw the building deliberately demolished and the area levelled off to serve as a platform[86]. Thus, in the late fourth or early fifth century, there is evidence for the continued use of the site, but no longer as a home. Whittington, however, simply decayed; seventeen Theodosian coins of the period 386-95 have been found, and since these constitute roughly a seventh of the coins

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[82] Webster, 1967.
[83] Webster, 1967, p.75; Goodburn, 1972, p.12.
[84] O'Neil, 1952.
[85] O'Neil, 1952, p.18.
[86] Webster, 1967, p.77-8.

found in total this must indicate that at the end of the fourth century the villa was still prosperous. Decline must therefore be dated to the early fifth century, if not a little later, given that the last coins reached Britain in 402 and it might thus be expected that the last issues would be made to serve for a longer period than normal. Decay was gradual; the roof had fallen in, and was discovered lying where it had landed on the villa's floor, indicating that the villa was not destroyed but abandoned[87].

The pattern in Gaul is similar, but, given lack of space, consideration of the Gallic villas must, perforce, be rather more limited. In the case of the villas in the region of Trier, thirty six sites are known for the period between the later third century, and the fifth century (see figure 6). Of these, ten went out of use in the later third century, perhaps as a result of both Germanic raids and economic turmoil[88]. That this constitutes nearly a third of known sites indicates that recovery in the region was limited, despite the presence of the imperial court and the resultant increased revenue of the city. Five more villas survived only until c.355, while sixteen more remained in use until c.400; thus, twenty one went out of use in the course of the fourth century, indicating a gradual decline in the presence and presumably wealth of the elite in that century.

At Metz, the third century problems bit more deeply than at Trier. At best, only one in two villas survived into the fourth century, and of those that did survive, none still remained in use in the early fifth century[89]. At least superficially, the pattern is exactly the same as in Britain. Several concerns about the nature of the evidence must be raised, however. As in Britain, very few areas have been subject to thorough survey, so that our excavation has been driven by chance discoveries. More seriously, while many of the British villas considered have been both well-excavated in the last forty or so years and the excavations published to a high standard, publication of the Metz villas has often been imperfect. In addition, many of the excavations were carried out in the early twentieth century, or even earlier, and as such ignored late and post-Roman material[90]. As a result, while these excavations are all that is available from which to draw conclusions, any conclusions must be regarded as at best uncertain.

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[87] O'Neill, 1952, p.22-3.
[88] Wightman, 1985.
[89] Halsall, 1995, p.177-8.
[90] Halsall, 1996, p.237-9.

This is particularly the case when the presence of rich burials in the Metz region is considered. As Chapter 3 discusses in detail, the early fifth century saw the appearance in the region of grave assemblages which included weapons and jewellery of a Germanic type[91]. Chapter 3 argues that these should be regarded not as Germanic burials, but as the graves of rich members of the local elite. Thus, wealth was present in the region of Metz, and the wealthy must have been resident somewhere. No sites have yet appeared, which could be a result either of poor excavation of known sites – in which case occupation must have looked sufficiently "un-Roman" to be ignored – or the wealthy moved away from their villas to new sites. Should the second be proved to be the case by further discoveries, however, the motivation for such a move is a mystery. Wherever this rural elite lived, however, the presence of layers of dark earth within the walls of Metz implies that their supply of the city was at best uncertain; at the very least, the urban population had to be prepared to supply itself.

The fifth century in the region of Trier saw the survival of only five villas: Konz, Leiwen, Niederemmel, Polich, and Welschbillig. Konz in particular shows evidence of great wealth; the plan of the ground floor of the villa shows forty two rooms, in three wings linked by front and rear corridors. Of those forty two rooms, fourteen are known to have had hypocausts[92]. The conclusion must be that these villas survived by continuing to supply the markets of Trier as the other villas fell away, and grew rich on the proceeds. That only five villas survived may imply a reduced population in the city, however, since the decline in the number of villas must indicate a decreasing level of supply of the city by the countryside. Granted, the remaining five villas may have increased their estates as other villas went out of use, and some of the estates may have continued to be farmed by people not based in the villa building, but nowhere is there evidence of the sort of centralisation seen at Gadebridge. This would imply that, if the estate ceased to be managed centrally, any remaining cultivation was carried out by individual farmers on a small scale; they might continue to supply Trier's markets, but not on the same scale as a centrally managed villa could.

The pattern throughout Gaul and Britain, then, is of the fourth century disappearance of most of the villas. This was not the end of rural occupation, however, nor the end of the relationship between city and countryside. For the early

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[91] Halsall, 1992.
[92] Wightman, 1970, p.166.

fifth century at least, there is evidence of the continuation of villa life, albeit at a lower level than before, in the region of Trier, while around Verulamium several villa sites appear to have still been occupied and perhaps farmed; there are also hints at Barnsley Park, near Cirencester, that some of the site of the villa was still being used for some form of activity. In the case of Verulamium's villas, it cannot be known whether the last occupants of the villa sites, living in wooden huts, maintained any link with the city, or whether they farmed any more of the villa estate than their immediate surroundings. That someone continued to supply the city's market on a small scale, however, is demonstrated by the continued circulation of coinage; that this supply did cease is implied by the end of occupation of Verulamium by all except a very few families sometime in the period c.400-c.450. At Metz, the situation is extremely unclear; wealth continued to exist in the countryside, but the villas show no signs of occupation.

The Urban Economy

The villas were, of course, more than just homes; they were centres for the economic production which provided the cities with at least the basic necessities of everyday life. In the case of Cirencester, the villas in the countryside around the city continued to flourish into the fifth century, implying that there was still a market for their goods, an impression confirmed by the forum which, as will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4, saw expansion and perhaps a separation of economic and administrative functions in the second half of the fourth century. The last level here was the remains of a paved surface, but one so cracked and worn that the excavators found it difficult to make out individual flagstones; the assumption must be that the forum continued to be used long after the resources were available to repair and resurface it[93]. The question is what that use was. Wacher, who was responsible for the excavation of this area of Cirencester, has pointed out the lack of debris on this final surface; little rubbish and no coins or pottery. Quite rightly, he attributes this to a continuation of civic organisation, and argues that the lack of coinage indicates that the forum was being used after the last Roman issues of money (c.402) had gone out of circulation, thus pushing use of the forum into the years after c.430. This may be the case, but in a financial context, the lack of coinage may be largely irrelevant; the

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[93] Wacher, 1964, p.11; 1974, p.313.

forum proper was by the end of the fourth century being apparently used for administration and government, and use of coinage might be expected to be confined to other parts of the city. On the other hand, a lack of lost coin may actually suggest that there was no coin to be lost; coinage is not simply found by archaeologists in areas used for financial transactions, but in any place where people gathered. Little late coin has been found in the entire Cirencester area; this may imply that there was little in circulation. If this is the case, however, then the economy must have become one relying largely on barter.

Certainly, the late fourth century extension of the forum does suggest a continued financial role for the city on some level even at this late date; the expansion of the forum seems to indicate, as discussed in Chapter 4, an expanded administrative role for the city, which resulted in the movement of the market to the area around the basilica. The evidence from the recently refurbished rooms around the apse of the basilica suggest the presence of shop-keepers from at earliest 360, who may have manufactured their goods on the site; the later fourth century occupation deposits in Room 2, lying over a floor dated to c.350-60 and below one dated to the very end of the fourth century, produced ash, fragments of copper alloy, and a pin and a stud. This must surely be evidence for the production of jewellery[94]. In addition, one of the last phases of occupation of Room 2 produced an oven, its last use dated by a coin of Arcadius (383-395), and which thus suggests a date at the end of the fourth century or beginning of the fifth. This oven also contained ash, charcoal, copper alloy, and the remains of a bracelet[95]. Again, jewellery working is suggested, and the two rooms between them suggest that this part of the centre of Cirencester was thus a market centre until at least the end of the basilica sometime between 400 and perhaps 450[96]. This is confirmed by the continued survival of the butchery area in Insula IV from the late second century when the public building in the area was abandoned, into at least the early fifth[97]. Rough cobbled areas with postholes may suggest barns; the huge numbers of animal bones demonstrate a demand for butchered meat, probably for sale in what has been interpreted as the *macellum*, or covered market, in Insula II, immediately to the west. This building, very similar to markets in Italy, also survived

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[94] Holbrook and Timby, 1998, p.108-9.
[95] Holbrook and Timby, 1998, p.110.
[96] See Chapter 3 for more detailed discussion of the end of the basilica.
[97] Timby, Darvill, and Holbrook, 1998, p.122-141.

into the early fifth century[98]. From the number of animal bones in pits here, there was either competition for supply, or the butcher in Insula IV provided whole or part carcases, which were jointed in the shop itself. This area, together with the shops in Insula V, quickly build up a picture of a busy financial district in the centre of the city, and confirming the vitality of this function into the fifth century, even if there was little coinage in circulation.

The question of who owned these shops is an interesting one. The traders occupying them may also have owned them; equally, they may have been tenants. That there was a trading class who relied upon commerce for their livelihood is certain; whether they counted among the lower classes or could claim to be among the city's elite is open to question. The gradual enrichment of the occupants of Buildings 1, 2, and 3 comes to mind; their money came gradually from somewhere, and it is tempting to surmise that this was due to their involvement in trade. Members of the elite do seem to have owned areas of shops, even if they chose not to dirty their hands by actually buying and selling. The shops in Insula V, for example, show development into a unit, sharing a single roof, and thus implying common ownership[99]; two possible cases can be made out, either for a rich man buying up an area as an investment, or for one shop-owner gradually buying out his neighbours. In either case, money was needed, and money continued to be made; elite involvement in trade, at some level, therefore.

The sheer quantity of coin lost in Verulamium in the period after 380 – nearly two thousand five hundred coins (see chapter 3) - and swept into the theatre along with all the other rubbish from, presumably, the city centre streets, suggests that the city continued to function as a vibrant market centre into the fifth century[100]. Indeed, the presence of issues of the House of Theodosius may suggest that money continued to change hands, allowing for a longer than normal circulation of coins (see chapter 3) in the absence of new issues after 402, towards the middle of the fifth century. This pushes continued use of Verulamium as a market centre into the period around c.450. That goods continued to reach Verulamium for at least a little while, however, shows that someone was continuing to supply the city. Two conclusions are possible; that the people whose presence is seen in the countryside in the continued occupation of the

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[98] Holbrook, 1998, p.177-88.
[99] Holbrook, 1998, p.189-211.
[100] Branigan, 1973, p.135; Wheeler, 1936, p.129-30.

villa sites were continuing to farm their estates; or that the peasantry had "taken control" of the fields and had begun to farm the land for themselves.

The first seems the more likely explanation; there seems no obvious reason for the elite to abandon their villas. Instead, as Chapter 3 argues, the elite chose to abandon the city in the chaos resulting from the early fifth century withdrawal of Roman administration from Britain, the lack of leadership there leading to the collapse of concepts of community. As long as what remained of the city continued to function as a market, they continued to supply it. The pattern, while not so easily dated, must be the same at Cirencester.

The alternative explanation, that the elite remained in the cities having lost control of their villa estates to the peasantry, is not a really a viable possibility, and only works if the continued occupation of villa sites is ignored. Certainly, the army was present in smaller and smaller numbers, to the point at which it ceased to be present at all in the early fifth century. This might have meant that the elite had no recourse to any means to protect their property, but, this said, there is no evidence of widespread peasant revolt, as suggested by Faulkner[101]. The picture of Britain up in arms, divided along class lines, is in any case too crude; it might fit one or two cities within a very short space of time, but the end of Verulamium came later than many cities, and earlier than that of Cirencester. For Faulkner's suggestion to be the case, the war would have had to have raged for a lengthy period of time, during which some cities were entirely unaffected. In addition, the result of this peasant revolution would inevitably result in an egalitarian society, without an elite class, and it is very difficult to believe in such a picture; Gildas, for all the problems of his account as an accurate source for fifth century events, must surely have mentioned such an event and he does not.

The final stage of Romano-British city life, then, consisted of a few houses, sitting alongside a worn forum, and surrounded by ruins and acres of dark earth. This last must also be explained in economic terms; the last occupants had been forced into self-sufficiency, farming the only land which was left to them. Dark earth has traditionally been interpreted as evidence for decay, while Dark would prefer to see it as the remains of rotted wooden huts, as on Scandinavian sites. Analysis of the dark earth, however, has shown it to be organically rich, with plenty of pottery

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[101] Faulkner, 2000b, p.176-8.

fragments[102]. The pottery is best explained by the Roman practice of fertilising their fields with their middens, onto which all rubbish was placed; thus, this appears to be cultivated land in the middle of the remains of the city. This agricultural interpretation is supported by the corn-drying oven found in the large house built in Insula 27. The oven was constructed in the third phase of occupation, after the coinage had dried up, and thus cannot be dated; all that may be said is that this phase belongs to the first half of the fifth century, to the period when much of the city lay beneath dark earth[103]. Its presence fits the picture of a self-sufficient farming family. The last few occupants of the Romano-British city sites were those who clung to the past, in the belief that the city still had meaning as a community.

The pattern of economic development in Gaul is somewhat different, unsurprisingly, given different economic pressures. The army in Gaul did not disappear during the course of the fourth century, meaning that elite income could continue to be derived from their supply. Indeed, at all of Arles, Lyons, Rheims, Tournai, Autun, and, importantly in the context of this project, Metz and Trier, there is evidence for the existence of state-controlled industry[104]. According to the *Notitia Dignitatum*, which lists the officials in charge of such factories, Trier and Metz both contained imperial weaving factories; Trier also had workers who produced ceremonial armour and vestments for high officials[105]. Thus, money entered the city directly from military sources, as well as indirectly from landowners made rich by supplying the army's food needs; the army was supporting workers who would then spend their wages in the city's markets.

The archaeological record of Metz, however, has produced no Late Antique public buildings except for the late fourth century basilica-type building beneath St.-Pierre-aux-Nonnains; thus, the impact of imperial fiscal policy in the first half of the fourth century is difficult to judge. Certainly, however, the construction of this building in the period after c.370 is a statement of secular wealth and power; this may be associated, as might the refurbishment of the forum and the temple by the theatre at Verulamium at the same time, with a degree of urban recovery after the imperial decision to return a proportion of their original income to the cities. The gradual

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[102] Dark, 1994, p.15. The argument that the Late Romano-British city was filled with wooden huts does not hold water, since very few postholes have been found, and the buildings could not have stood without support.
[103] Frere, 1983, p.223.
[104] Ennen, 1979, p.13.
[105] Wightman, 1985, p.270.

ebbing away of the population from the centre of Metz, and the disappearance, as in Britain, of the villas of the Metz region might also be associated with the impoverishment of the city. On closer examination, however, it is difficult to explain why the loss of the city's revenue might drive people away from both villas and city centre. To an extent, the elite would be expected to shoulder the burden of civic expenditure which the city had no other way of meeting, and this might have driven them to take refuge in the countryside, but this does not explain why the villas should have disappeared. Indeed, given the evidence, examined in Chapter 3, for rich fifth century burials in the countryside around Metz, it is obvious that the elite were still wealthy, and thus the disappearance of the villas cannot be explained. So far as the city goes, it has been argued above that the population may have ebbed away from the city centre, but only as far as the suburbs, where we might expect to find evidence, should excavation be carried out, for occupation based around the churches. Since the Christian clergy had become in the fourth century the major source of wealth and patronage in the city (see Chapters 3 and 4), it might be expected that the population would wish to live in close proximity to them. This movement in itself appears to have left the north of the city free for reuse as agricultural land; dark earth has been found in this area, which as Halsall points out, implies a conscious reuse of space together with sufficient organised labour to move earth from outside the city[106]. Given the presence of a population to the south, this must be seen as more than a few elite families farming to supply themselves, as in Britain. A better explanation is that the presence of dissident families in the countryside (see Chapter 3) either forced the city to supply itself, or at least made the presence of an alternative source of food advisable. At the best of times in the ancient world, as Garnsey has pointed out, famine was never far away.[107]

Church building, while not on an enormous monumental scale, took place in the fourth century, indicating that the Church at least was able to channel wealth into the construction of buildings. Exactly how this was paid for is unknown, however; private benefaction is a possibility, but it is also the case that Constantine was extremely generous to the Church as a whole. His programme of church building included the gift of land to the churches which he founded, and while none of the Metz churches may be claimed as Constantinian such gifts show a pattern of

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[106] Halsall, 1996, p.246.
[107] Garnsey, 1988, p.69.

generosity to the Church. In addition, Constantine's benefactions included a decision to assign a fixed proportion of provincial revenue to Church charity; doubtless, some of this money may have found its way into other areas of Church expenditure[108]. The same must be true of Trier; the construction of the cathedral over what was almost certainly an Imperial palace in the years after 326 (see Chapter 4) must mark the workings of an imperial hand, and this is also the period in which the imperial family was building churches in Jerusalem[109]. Thus, with one hand the Emperor removed revenue from the city; with the other, he restored it, albeit by handing it not to the *curia* but to the bishop. In the case of Trier, in any case, a whole range of buildings owe their construction to the presence of the imperial administration in the city (see Chapter 3), and it must be the case, therefore, that any evidence of urban impoverishment caused by the reallocation of some of the city's revenue to the imperial treasury is masked by the imperial presence at Trier.

Trier, therefore, is an exception to any economic patterns for much of the fourth century. Imperial spending enriched the city; it also enriched the local elite. Many early fourth century villas show evidence of improvements, while rural sites in general have yielded a great deal of Constantinian coinage; evidence of the increased market for agricultural produce occasioned by the presence of the imperial court and its hangers-on[110]. Thus, the imperial presence not only alleviated the economic impoverishment seen in the secular sphere elsewhere in Gaul and Britain, it also enriched the countryside. This explains the pattern of villa occupation observed above; in the immediate region of Trier, of the thirty six villas known, ten show evidence of use into the third century; five survived only until 355; sixteen survived until 400; and five show evidence of fifth century use[111]. Twenty one, then, approximately two thirds of those known, lasted into the second half of the fourth century, and this must be explained by the economic stimulus provided by the imperial court at Trier. The fact that of that twenty one, sixteen did not survive into the fifth century, may be explained either by the sudden loss of that market leading to impoverishment, or by the decision of the owners to accompany the imperial court south, in the hope of remaining close to imperial power.

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[108] Cameron, 1993a, p.61; Chadwick, 1993, p.127-8.
[109] Cameron, 1993a, p.62.
[110] Wightman, 1985, p.257-8.
[111] Cüppers, 1984, p.77.

Of the villas remaining in use in the fifth century, most are noticeably richer[112]. This indicates their continued income, and thus implies that Trier continued to provide a market for their goods. That Trier continued as a market centre, albeit a reduced one, is shown by the positioning of the five villas; four on the Moselle, and one on the main road into Metz from the north, and all within about twenty kilometres[113]. In other words, they were ideally placed to make best use of transport links to and from the city.

Economically, therefore, the city apparently continued to function as a market for as long as the elite saw relevance in the city.

Conclusion

Traditional Roman occupation of both city and countryside was, then, changing in fourth century Gaul and Britain. In the British cities, the elite gradually left the city from around the end of the fourth century, leaving only a few of their number behind. These last few appear to have occupied grand houses, and their presence may well have lasted until at least c450. At Verulamium, the pattern is a little disturbed by a number of impoverished houses in the period around 350, and this is echoed in the villas; this is best explained by the confiscations carried out by the imperial agent Paul. Towards the end of the century, however, the city recovered, at least to a limited extent, as did the countryside; villa sites, even if not the buildings, were still in use in the period around c.400. In Cirencester and the surrounding countryside, there is evidence of continuing enrichment until at least 400. From the beginning of the fifth century, however, in both cities, there is evidence of significant decline. Villa sites around Cirencester fall into decay, mirroring the pattern around Verulamium thirty to fifty years earlier, while the elite of both cities appear to have moved out of the cities.

This is strange. One would expect the elite, if they were abandoning the city, to have moved into the countryside and occupied their villas on a full time basis. Their villas, however, were collapsing, and show few signs of occupation in the period after c.400. The answer may lie in the villas of Verulamium, which have been, on the whole, excavated much more recently than those around Cirencester. On

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[112] Wightman, 1970, p.160-70.
[113] Cüppers, 1984, p.77.

several of the more recently excavated sites, notably Latimer and Totternhoe, the villa buildings were replaced by buildings which are, to modern eyes, far more humble than their Romanised predecessors. There is evidence of continued use of the Gadebridge site, and this is mirrored at the most recently excavated villa in the Cirencester area, Barnsley Park. This continued use must, in the light of developments in the cities, be significant. I would suggest that, once the Roman army and administration had withdrawn from Britain in the early fifth century, longer-distance trade suffered, and it became much harder to obtain both building materials and skilled artisans to repair and maintain the villas. Such a pattern is found in the pottery industry; by the end of the fourth century, pottery, having been traded across Britain in earlier periods, now appears to have travelled no more than a few miles at best[114]. In such a situation, the only options available to the householder can have been to knock down his villa and start again, or to move to another site altogether. Older excavations tended to ignore post-Roman levels, and thus did not record the post-holes which are the only evidence for the presence of timber buildings; such occupation is thus unlikely to appear in the archaeological record of many villa sites. Even on sites excavated in more recent times, as at Barnsley Park, if the owner moved even a hundred yards beyond the villa and its courtyard, his dwelling is unlikely to be found, given that excavation tends to concentrate in the case of villas on the obvious remains. Excavation does not tend to extend beyond these. The result is that the elite may well have continued to be present on many sites; the alternative explanation is the complete abandonment of both villas and cities, and there seems no good reason for this to be the case, as the next chapter argues.

In the Gallic cities, meanwhile, the community evolved differently. The number of villas diminishes around Trier, and this may be explained either by the movement of their owners to accompany the imperial court south to Arles in the early fifth century, or by the movement of the court leading to a reduced demand for agricultural supply and consequent impoverishment. Around Metz, the villas disappear completely, but plenty of evidence of elite presence, in the form of rich burials, remains. Given that imperial administration and the army both remained in the area, the disappearance of the villas around Metz cannot be explained in the same terms as in Britain, but given the limitations of the archaeological record for this

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[114] Millett, 1990, p.165-70.

region too much weight should not be placed on the idea that the villas completely disappeared. Within the city, however, the community was evolving, rejecting the traditional foci of the classical city, and moving itself to focus occupation upon the churches, and thus the Christian clergy, of Metz. Under the influence of Christianity, the urban community was becoming far more physically disparate.

Economically, the city continued to function as a market for as long as the elite maintained a presence there. In Metz and in Britain the pattern of archaeological evidence suggests a degree of self-sufficiency, but this is best explained in different ways in the different regions. At Verulamium and at Cirencester, the majority of the elite chose to abandon the city, but, certainly at Verulamium, someone continued to supply the city's markets for a while. The gradual ebbing away of the elite, however, gradually drew economic function away from the city, with the result that its continued function is invisible. The last few members of the elite to remain in the British cities appear to have been self-sufficient, farming the land around them. In contrast, at Metz, the elite, presumably under the umbrella of the Church, appear to have maintained a greater interest in the city; the presence of a dissenting group of elite families in the countryside, however, meant that the city had, to a limited extent, to be prepared to be self-sufficient. Metz, however, together with Trier, retained its vitality, demonstrating that with or without a hugely successful market the city remained a city. In Britain, the elite withdrew from the city, gradually reducing the vitality of its market, but this was not a decision prompted by economic problems, as the next chapter will argue.

Chapter 3: The City as Administrative Centre

It is in the field of administration, both of the city itself and of the surrounding hinterland, that the role of the elite in civic affairs is perhaps most obvious. In Late Antiquity, as in earlier periods, members of the elite classes were expected to undertake certain responsibilities and duties for the good of the city[1]. In addition, it was largely through their activities within the city that elite families gained and maintained social and political position. The result of these activities was the classical townscape, rich with stone-built monuments and buildings, and, in earlier periods at least, awash with inscriptions recording the generosity of generations of families. Late Antique Gaul and Britain, it must be noted, saw a decline in the epigraphic habit; fewer and fewer people chose to record their good deeds in this way[2].

The administrative sphere, then, allowed the elite of the classical world to articulate both their social position and their relationship with their city. On the one hand, members of elite families were expected to serve on the city council, the *curia*, and were thus responsible for the administration, however ineffectively, of the surrounding area; it is a model with its roots in the *polis* of classical Greece[3]. They might also serve as magistrates, dispensing justice, or in a range of official posts, taking responsibility for a variety of urban functions[4]. As well as being a crucial part of the operation of the classical Roman city, these activities also left their mark upon the townscape; the forum and the basilica existed at least partly to provide public space for the meeting of the *curia*, for example, or a central place in which court cases might be heard. On the other hand, the city was crucial to the elite to allow them to maintain their social position. *Euergetism* was an expected part of the role of the elite, a form of informal taxation. The *curiales* were expected to build and maintain monuments for the good of the city: walls, aqueducts, baths, temples; at Pompeii even the public weights and measures in the forum have an inscription recording their provider. Less tangibly, feasts, festivals and games might be provided, together with an inscription in a public place so that the generosity might not be forgotten. All these

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[1] See, for example, the ideal of Cincinnatus (Livy, 3.26), who abandoned his rural life to serve Rome; see also Sidonius Apollinaris, *Ep.* 8.8.

[2] This may be part of a wider trend. It has been pointed out to me by Theresa Urbainczyk that the tombstones of Late Antique Rome came to be increasingly dominated not by nobles but by freedmen: the elite were choosing not to record their lives, and thus familial honour, through the medium of epigraphy.

[3] Thomas, 2000; Ober, 2000.

[4] Stambaugh, 1988, ch. 7; Robinson, 1994.

things persuaded the populace to vote members of the elite into positions of power and responsibility; they also allowed the elite classes an opportunity to remind the urban populace of their power and position, and of course were a forum for competition between members of the elite. As Laurence has pointed out, public monuments offered each inhabitant of a city an image of their position in relationship to the power of others and of the state; monuments, therefore, express power, ideology, and the identity both of individuals and of the community[5].

The Administration of the Classical City

Physical evidence for the political activities of the elite can, then, be seen in the archaeological record of the city. For much of at least the fourth century, this appears to have continued as before, albeit with a gradual decline in the British cities, Verulamium and Cirencester. Perhaps the key piece of evidence for discussion of the political and administrative function of late Roman Cirencester is the Jupiter Column. In the second and third centuries, these monuments were common across Roman Europe, comprising a column, capped with a figured Corinthian capital. Above this was a sculptured Jupiter figure, generally mounted, and often in a pose or depicted in clothing which would suggest association with a local god; for example, Taranis, the Celtic thunderer[6]. The religious implications of such a column are discussed in Chapter 4; it is the inscription at the base of the column from Cirencester which is significant here. This records that the column was restored, presumably after a period in which it fell into disrepair, or was even taken down, by Lucius Septimius, governor of the province of Britannia Prima. It reads, very simply:

FRONT:
To Jupiter, Greatest and Best, His Perfection Lucius Septimius..., governor of Britannia Prima, and a citizen of Rheims, restored (this).
BACK:
This statue and column raised under the old religion.
LEFT:
Septimius, Ruler of the province Prima, renews. [7]

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[5] Laurence, 1994, p.20.
[6] Green, 1986, p.67.
[7] *R.I.B.*, 1.103; Wacher, 1974, p.84-6; 296-7; 304. Trans. Ireland, 1986, p.140.

From its content, the inscription, and thus both Lucius Septimius' period as governor of Britannia Prima and the restoration of the column, are dated to the period A.D.361-3. The crucial details for this date lie in the part of the inscription from the back of the column. Here, paganism is described as "the old religion"; thus, by implication, at the time of the carving of this inscription a new religion existed, or the phrase "old religion" becomes nonsensical. This new religion could only be Christianity. Even while paganism might evolve – adopting, for example, the solar monotheism popular in the early fourth century – pagan philosophers and worshippers saw a clear distinction between traditional pagan religion and new Christianity[8]. At face value, this could date the inscription to anywhere between Diocletian's creation of Britannia Prima in the late third or early fourth century A.D., and the withdrawal of the Roman administration from Britain in the early fourth century[9]. The context of the inscription, however, allows far more accurate dating. Its implication that Christianity is the "new religion", given that this is an public inscription produced by a Roman official, must date it to after the Edict of Milan officially recognised Christianity as a religion in 313; to give Christianity such official recognition before this date would have been to risk the severest sanctions. Equally, given the official recognition and promotion granted to Christianity by Constantine and his successors, a statement of support for paganism by a Roman provincial governor, while technically legal, seems profoundly unlikely. The best context, then, for the restoration of Cirencester's Jupiter Column, must be the reign of the pagan emperor Julian in the years 361-3.

This inscription, given its apparent statement of the presence of the governor of Britannia Prima in Cirencester, has been taken to suggest that Cirencester became, under the provincial reorganisation of Diocletian, a provincial capital[10]. Of course, one inscription does not prove the case; a fourth century provincial governor, if his role was at all similar to that of Pliny the Younger in the second century A.D., might be expected to take an interest in all the cities under his control, and have building and repair work carried out as needed[11]. That he had such work carried out in Cirencester need not be surprising, since the date of the restoration of the column matches that of

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[8] Brown, 1971, p.70-82.
[9] On the difficulties of dating Diocletian's provincial reorganisation accurately, see Cameron, 1993a, p.39. On dating the withdrawal of the Roman administration from Britain, see Esmonde Cleary, 1989, ch.4.
[10] Wacher, 1974, p.84-6.
[11] See Book 10 of Pliny's letters in general. The town of Sinope, for example, asked for an aqueduct (10.91), while Prusa applied for permission to build a new bathhouse (10.23;24;70;71.)

the pagan revival attempted by the emperor Julian the Apostate. Clearly the column had fallen down and was in need of restoration; the pagan revival would provide an opportunity for such restoration.

The enlargement of the forum area in the second half of the fourth century has been claimed as evidence supporting the presence of a provincial governor. In summary, the street to the south east of the forum, beyond the basilica, was incorporated into the administrative and financial centre of the city, the alterations demanding that the external colonnade on the south-east side of the basilica be removed, and that a new row of buildings, possibly shops, block the former street (see figures 1 and 5)[12]. At the same time, the porticoes of the forum itself were re-floored with mosaic pavement, and enclosed with a wall, of which the pink plaster of its facing survives[13]. The forum was repaved, and a date in the fourth quarter of the century is given for this work by a coin of Valentinian I (364-375) lying in the foundation layer for the new flagstones[14]. The porticoes themselves were enclosed, so that even while money was spent upon the forum, then, it became less accessible; an impression reinforced by the wall built a third of the way up the forum from the basilica, dividing the forum very clearly into two parts[15]. That these may be seen as an "inside" and an "outside" is suggested by the foundation projecting from the colonnade at the northern end of the larger area; this has been interpreted as a podium by the excavators[16], which would suggest an inner forum in which speeches were made, and therefore an outer area where, perhaps, people waited, or even listened without being permitted into the "inside". Equally the division creates two separate fora, one far more private, and thus perhaps intended for business in which the townspeople might not normally be included.

This in itself argues for the existence of a specific administrative area, set aside for the task; a point emphasised by Wacher, who sees in this redevelopment of the forum the movement of its economic function, as market place, to what was the street to the south[17]. Wacher asserts that this expansion and alteration was a result of the extra administration generated by the presence of the provincial governor, but as has been seen above, the inscription on the Jupiter Column is not, alone, sufficient to

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[12] Wacher, 1962, p.8.
[13] Holbrook and Timby, 1998, p.115-6.
[14] Holbrook and Timby, 1998, p.119.
[15] Holbrook and Timby, 1998, p.116-20.
[16] Holbrook and Timby, 1998, p.116.
[17] Quoted in Holbrook and Timby, 1998, p.121.

indicate such a presence. In addition, to simply accept this explanation would be to gloss over a major discrepancy; namely, that Diocletian's provincial reorganisation took place in the late third century[18]. It is extremely unlikely, therefore, that his changes were directly responsible for the changes evident in Britain in the second half of the fourth century; had he placed a provincial governor at Cirencester, and had such an appointment demanded changes to the architecture of the city, then those alterations might be expected to have appeared far earlier than the archaeological record shows them to have done. It should be asked, then, why these changes to the physical appearance, and presumably to the role, of Cirencester took place. From the evidence of the villas (see Chapter 2), Cirencester was a rich city, or at least a city of rich men, possibly because the Cotswolds were, as today, extremely agriculturally fertile. Certainly, the villas surrounding the city, as has been seen, lasted longer than did those around such comparable cities as Verulamium; indeed, sites such as Whittington were still undergoing development in the years after the Verulamium villas has been abandoned. If this is the case, then perhaps members of the elite were more inclined to stay in the area, rather than accompany the stream of Imperial usurpers put up by the army in Britain. Whether the seat of the provincial governor himself was also moved to Cirencester in the second half of the fourth century, such a movement reflecting the wealth of Cirencester, cannot be known. Certainly, by erecting the Jupiter column, he made his presence obvious, and this, combined with the extensions to the forum, might imply that he moved to Cirencester.

Another explanation is, however, possible. As Chapter 2 discusses, in the third quarter of the fourth century, the cities regained a portion of the income from taxes and rents which they had lost in the first half of the century under Constantine and his successors[19]. It may be the case that this influx of money and resultant upturn in civic fortunes was celebrated in traditional manner, by monumental construction. This does not, of course, explain why the forum should need to be separated into two, but that may be accounted for by a desire to distinguish between the administrative and financial spheres. Division of the forum might be seen as not two spaces for two forms of administrative activity, but as a space for administration, and separately, a space for one of the city's markets. This would also explain the movement of shopkeepers into the rooms around the outside of the basilica (see Chapter 5); the

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[18] Holbrook and Timby, 1998, p.121.
[19] Salway, 1997, p.213-4.

basilica lay at the end of the "outer" forum (see figure 1), and in other words within the suggested marketing area. That marketing area itself was expanded, with the addition of shops to the south of the basilica. Such an explanation is preferable to the theory that the imperial governor moved to Cirencester; a case for the presence of such a governor can be made, but it is reliant upon speculation rather than upon a great deal of evidence. In addition, special allowances have to be made to explain why the governor should only demonstrate his presence at Cirencester in the last quarter of the fourth century.

Of the fourth century history of the basilica, the other city monument most obviously used in an administrative and judicial capacity, far less is known, since only the south west end has been excavated. In addition, to make matters worse for the historian of Late Antique Cirencester, much of the initial excavation was carried out at the end of the nineteenth century, when much of the later levels, and particularly the dark earth, was cut through and thrown away as rubbish[20]. Not only was valuable evidence thus lost, but it may be the case that, since the site was disturbed, the coinage and pottery by which the site is dated were also disturbed. Nevertheless, the evidence does suggest that in the second half of the fourth century the basilica was modified. This is chiefly apparent from the rooms on the south eastern side of the basilica; rooms 1 and 2 were separated by blocking up the door between them, and rooms 3 and 4 were knocked into one. The blocking from the doorway between rooms 1 and 2 yielded coins of Constantinopolis (330-5) and Magnentius (351-3)[21]. Thus, the work began in at earliest c.353. Indeed, given that the coin celebrating the foundation of Constantinopolis was still obviously in use at least twenty years later, this work might be pushed back into the late 360s or early 370s. The final occupation layer in the room provided a coin of Theodosius; work to the basilica can, then, be dated to the period between, very roughly, 351 and the beginning of the fifth century[22]. Alterations to the room next door, which might be expected to have occurred at roughly the same time, do not clarify the dating of work to the basilica.

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[20] Holbrook and Timby, 1998, p.107-121.
[21] Holbrook and Timby, 1998, p.108.
[22] The problem is further compounded by the fact that the last issues of coinage reached Britain in the early fourth century. It may be the case that the last issues of coin as a result continued in circulation much longer than might normally be the case: a coin of c.400 might, perhaps, have been forced to last fifty years. Such a view, of course, challenges the orthodox position, that coinage continued in circulation until no later than c.420 (see Kent, 1979). Both are matters of interpretation rather than fact, but Kent's position is reliant upon estimations of the length of time Roman coins circulated in normal Roman conditions: fifth century Britain can hardly be counted as typical of the Roman Empire.

Much of the area was at least disturbed, and in places destroyed by Cripps' nineteenth century excavations, so that the range of coins giving dates of 270-402 are not to be completely trusted, even without the issue of the length of time which coins might remain in circulation. The nature of the work carried out to the basilica in general is also unclear. The new room created by amalgamating rooms 3 and 4 has evidence of metal-working, which may suggest the presence of artisans; as will be discussed in Chapter 5, this may mean that the changes to the forum meant that those accustomed to trading in that area had to find new spots, and that the rooms around the basilica were used for this purpose[23]. This does rely, however, on dating the evidence for such occupation to the 370s or later, and this is, for once, possible. The final floor was cut by an oven, which yielded coins of Constans and Arcadius, pushing its final use to the very end of the fourth century, if not into the fifth. Thus, the basilica, on the basis that its external rooms were unlikely to survive if the building itself had gone out of use, survived at least to 400. Its function had, however, partly evolved; rather than the whole being used for administrative and judicial purposes, available room space was converted for use by traders. This demonstrates that changes to one area or building had a knock-on effect on other buildings. Cirencester was continuing to adapt and change; even at the end of the fourth century, there was no stagnation and decay, but rather a vibrant city.

At Verulamium, even the outline of the basilica is unclear, to the extent that much of Frere's report of the excavation of the area is spent not in reporting excavation, but in attempting to reconstruct, on the basis of almost no evidence, the shape of the basilica (see figure 2)[24]. Certainly, no conclusions about the use or otherwise of the building in the fourth century can be drawn. So far as the forum is concerned, no major changes were made; its interest lies in the fact that it still had a forum in use in the later fourth century. A new gateway with internal and external columns was, however, built some time after 380[25]. Money was, therefore, still being spent by the city on monuments which celebrated success and status. That the dating of this gateway is so close to the dating of Cirencester's extension of the forum might suggest a similar reason. As at Cirencester, this monumental building must indicate an

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[23] Holbrook and Timby, 1998, p.121.
[24] Frere, 1983, p.62ff.
[25] Branigan, 1973, p.133.

improvement in civic fortunes as a result of the return to the cities from the imperial treasury of a proportion of the income enjoyed in earlier periods.

Both Trier and Metz demonstrate similar building projects in the last quarter of the fourth century. In the case of Trier, however, such projects, given its role as an imperial capital, may be explained in other ways, and need not be part of the same pattern seen in Britain. It is worth, however, before discussing this aspect of Trier, summarising the development of the imperial presence at Trier in the course of the fourth century[26].

Trier first saw an imperial presence in 293, with the arrival of Constantius Chlorus, newly elevated to the rank of Caesar of the West under the Tetrarchy – Diocletian's institutionalised recognition of the fact that the Empire could no longer be governed by one man alone[27]. Constantius' aim was to prepare for a campaign against the British usurper Allectus, and to finance his campaign, a mint was set up at Trier. This rapidly became the main mint for the Western Empire[28]. The son of Constantius, Constantine, having been proclaimed emperor at York in 306, also took up residence at Trier. He finally ceased to reside personally in Trier in 315, but left his eldest son, Crispus, there, together with a *praefectus praetorio*, and Crispus' younger half-brother, who would later become Constantine II. Crispus was executed in 326, together with Constantine's second wife, Fausta: it might be argued that the gift of the imperial palace to the Treveran Church shortly after this date (see Chapter 5) was either an attempt to expiate guilt on the part of Constantine, or, alternatively, a way of wiping away the past and marking a new beginning. It is not impossible that it might be both.

Following Constantine's death in 337, Trier continued to be used as an imperial residence by both Constantine II, and then his brother Constans who was murdered shortly after the usurpation of Magnentius in 350. Magnentius himself, following Constantine's route from Britain, installed himself in Trier, together with his brother Decentius, who was declared Caesar in 351. The mint issued coins in the name of both, but in 353, something, perhaps an acute grasp of the political situation by the city's elite, prompted Trier to shut its gates against Decentius[29]. From this

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[26] This is discussed in far more detail in Wightman, 1970, p.58-62. For a detailed assessment of the political situation in the fourth century, see Hunt, 1998a and 1998b; Curran, 1998; Blockley, 1998.
[27] On the Tetrarchy, see Jones, 1964, ch.2.
[28] Wightman, 1970, p.58.
[29] Wightman, 1970, p.61; Ammianus Marcellinus, 15.6.4.

point, the city declined; the mint fell off in importance until, by 363, it was producing hardly any coins, and Julian, when visiting Gaul, chose to stay at Paris and Sens in preference to Trier. Wightman has suggested that this decision was prompted by dislike of its Christian associations, but it is far more likely that Julian's decision was prompted more by Trier's decline as an imperial capital[30]. This in itself may have been caused by the dangers presented by Germanic raids across the northern frontier and into the Mosel valley in the region of Trier[31]. The fortunes of Trier were restored by Valentinian, who, in 367, moved to Trier from Amiens and established his court in the city. The re-elevation of Trier is marked by a resurgence in the production of the city's mint, which once again became the centre of coinage production in the Western Empire. That Trier continued to be a significant capital is evident from the fact that, when Magnus Maximus declared himself emperor with the support of the British armies, he travelled immediately to Trier and had the mint produce coins marked RESTITUTOR REI PUBLICAE; a justification for their actions claimed by all those who attacked Rome for their own ends from the first century B.C. onwards, and thus, given its evocation of tradition, not as ridiculous as Wightman claims[32]. Maximus succumbed to Theodosius in 388, and his fellow-emperor, Valentinian II, spent part of his reign at Trier, along with his guardian, the Frank Arbogast. The Treveran mint celebrates his reign, as well as that of Arcadius and Eugenius. Theodosius died in 395, leaving the Western Empire effectively in the hands of Stilicho, who transferred both the imperial capital and the seat of the *praefectus praetorio* south to Arles[33]. The precise dating of this action is unclear; Wightman suggests a date of not later than 401, on the basis that at this date Stilicho was also moving troops south, away from the Rhine frontier, and this is a persuasive argument[34]. The important point is that at the end of the fourth century, Trier lost its significance as a city at the top of the Empire's administrative tree; it became simply one more ordinary Gallic city.

This procession of emperors was significant for Trier, for it marked its fluctuating status as one of the imperial capitals of the Empire, and thus its place in the administrative structure. The result of this fluctuation can be seen in the building

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[30] Wightman, 1970, p.61-2.
[31] Ammianus Marcellinus, 14.10.16; 15.8.1.
[32] Wightman, 1970, p.67; Crawford, 1992, ch.13 and Epilogue.
[33] The *praefectus praetorio* was originally attached to the person of the emperor or Caesar, but during the course of the fourth century became increasingly associated with a geographical area instead; namely, the Gauls, Britain, and Spain (Wightman, 1970, p.68.).
[34] Wightman, 1970, p.68. See also Loseby, 1996, p.52.

record of Trier, which reflects the fluctuations in the city's wealth as emperors and their families came and went (see figure 3). Four buildings in particular demonstrate these fluctuations; the cathedral, the Basilika, the Barbarathermen, and the Kaiserthermen. To these it would be useful to be able to add the forum, but, given the number of modern buildings which lie over it, it is only poorly known; even the date of its construction remains unclear[35].

The earliest, and perhaps the least significant in this context of these buildings is the Barbarathermen; one of the two largest sets of baths outside the city of Rome (the other is the Kaiserthermen), and dating initially to the second century A.D. At some point in the fourth century the Barbarathermen was redecorated, indicating civic concern with the state of the city's monumental buildings, but the work cannot be accurately dated[36]. Much more can be said about the Kaiserthermen. It is certainly directly connected to the imperial presence at Trier: the earliest coin found on the site is one of Diocletian minted at Trier, and therefore not earlier than 293, when Constantius Chlorus arrived in the city. That the work is almost certainly later than this, however, is suggested by the presence of a coin of 314-7, found lying in a foundation trench[37]. This would place the work in the period between Constantine leaving Trier and his death, and it might thus be interpreted as a statement by his sons that even while the emperor was no longer resident in Trier the imperial presence, and patronage of the city, continued. Alternatively, it could be seen as a statement by the city to the rest of the Empire that it maintained its rank even in the absence of the emperor. The answer may lie in the positioning of the Kaiserthermen; Wightman has argued that the baths may have been built by the imperial family for its own private use rather than for the use of the city, on the basis that the site of the baths is on the western side of the city, together with the palace and the Basilika, both of which may also be associated with the imperial family[38]. The argument is, however, rather tenuous; the baths are in fact far closer to the centre of the city, and thus nearer to the forum and the Barbarathermen, than to the palace and the Basilika. An argument for imperial construction which carries greater weight is the sheer size of the Kaiserthermen; it was almost as large as the forum, and its construction required a

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[35] Gose, 1961; Wightman, 1970, p.77.
[36] Wightman, 1970, p.114.
[37] Wightman, 1970, p.101.
[38] Wightman, 1970, p.98.

wholesale destruction and levelling of private houses[39]. It is difficult to imagine that anyone except a member of the imperial family could have ordered such destruction, or indeed, have both the money and influence to persuade so many people to sell their city centre houses. The building, however, was never completed, and thus did not do duty as a baths; no traces of water pipes were found, meaning that the baths could not be supplied with their most important commodity[40]. Why this should be the case is unclear, although the foundation of the cathedral in the period after 326 may have diverted resources and attention away from the Kaiserthermen[41].

Presumably the Kaiserthermen found some use in the period until it was renovated, but no traces of this remain. Its position, only one insula away from the forum, together with the fact that it provided both a courtyard meeting area and several large, heated rooms, might have recommended its use in civic business, as an extension to the forum. Its reconstruction in the reigns of Valentinian and Gratian may in this case have been an official recognition of this function. More certainly, the rebuilding must be regarded as a celebration of the return of the imperial presence to Trier, and the renewal of the city's fortunes. What emerged on the site was a large courtyard with a much smaller suite of rooms than before on the east end, designed as a series of antechambers leading into a main hall with an apse. The open porticoes around the courtyard made it far more accessible than before, and thus created a far more open, public, appearance[42]. Association of the building with the functions of the imperial court is, as was discussed above, by no means certain, and in fact this looks far more like a new forum-basilica complex, set up in addition to the old, perhaps for the transaction of provincial or imperial rather than local business, or as a replacement. Without better excavation of the forum itself, however, the relationship between the two cannot be ascertained. Inevitably, however, there is a reminder of similar work carried out at Cirencester at the same time, as well as perhaps at Metz. It may be that these cities, which outlived their counterparts, were marking increased administrative status[43]. The danger of constructing such a pattern is that other

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[39] Wightman, 1970, p.98-9.
[40] Wightman, 1970, p.102.
[41] On the dating and development of the cathedral, as well as for a discussion of its significance, see Chapter 4.
[42] Wightman, 1970, p.113-5. Ironically, the site was also used for bathing for the first time: a small suite of baths was built form the remains of the old on the north eastern corner of the complex, accessible only from the street.
[43] For an overview of the British cities in this period see above, and Wacher, 1974. For the Gallic cities, see Février, 1980; Liebeschuetz, 2001, p.75-86; Wightman, 1985, p.219-242.

motivations can be seen for building work in Trier at this period; namely, the return of the imperial administration. Its return was not only something to be celebrated; with it came once again an increased administrative function regardless of any changes, formally or informally, in the administrative structure of Gaul. The arrangement of the suite of rooms, with its series of antechambers, suggests an audience chamber: this might conceivably have been the seat of the *praefectus praetorio*, given a new building from which to conduct his business as a mark of the return of the imperial court to Trier.

The redecoration of the Barbarathermen may be connected with either the original building or the reconstruction of the Kaiserthermen; in the first case it might be seen as a desire to ensure that the old baths lived up to the magnificence of the new, while in the second, it might reflect concern that the city should not feel that it had lost anything through the transformation of the Kaiserthermen from baths to an administrative building. Given that the Kaiserthermen was never apparently finished, however, and thus was not a functioning bathhouse, the first possibility is the more likely explanation if there is a connection between work at the two baths; when construction was begun it could not have been foreseen that it would not be finished.

The other building to be discussed is the Basilika; a modern name rather than necessarily a clue to its ancient function. As so often at Trier, the main building itself, having survived into the modern period through a series of changes in its use, is well known; far less are known of its accompanying buildings, so there is little sense of the complex of which it was a part. That it is Constantinian in origin is suggested by the discovery of a coin of 305, little worn and thus arguably reasonably new, in one of the walls[44]. The building as a whole is extremely grand and impressive; on either side were courtyards, meaning that the building was, in a crowded city, set clearly within its own space, while at the southern end – in other words, forming the entrance to the Basilika – was a narrow building set at right angles to the Basilika. This must have acted as an entrance hall, in which those who had business within the Basilika could wait. That this was an imperial building is suggested by two things; it lay across both a street and several earlier houses, and its construction thus required great power and influence; and, as Wightman says, this building is hugely impressive even to the casual modern visitor, a sentiment felt also by Ausonius as he stood within it. It seems

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[44] Wightman, 1970, p.103. See p.103-9 for a more detailed account of the building.

designed to transform its occupant into more than the merely human[45]. From the date of the building, then, this must have constructed by Constantine or at least by his family, and, as such makes a pair with the cathedral, the two together making on comment on the imperial family's ambition to rule in both the secular and religious hierarchies. In the Basilika, we see their traditional, secular power; in the cathedral, we see their ambition to take their place among the Christian leaders of the Roman Empire. This is especially important when Constantine's difficulty in finding himself a place within the hierarchy of the Church is considered; as an emperor he should have been able to wield absolute power, but for Christians the bishop was God's representative upon earth, and should thus be obeyed before the emperor. Without being ordained, Constantine had to fit himself into this Christian view of the world; the cathedral is a statement of his power within the Church[46]. At the very least, it demonstrated that the Church was dependent upon him for patronage, and thus placed it within his debt; bishops therefore became his clients.

In each case, it is far from clear whether the imperial family, their officials, or the local Treveran elite, individually or in the guise of the *curia*, should be credited with this building work. If the Basilika is to be associated with the imperial family and administration, possibly as a reception chamber, then quite possibly imperial money paid for its construction and upkeep. In addition, the cathedral could surely not have been built without imperial patronage. In the cases of the other two buildings under consideration, it is impossible to say with certainty whether the imperial family paid to give the city a grander appearance suitable for the residence of an emperor, or whether the city paid in order to advertise its good fortune and to impress the imperial family. In the latter case, it should be asked whether, as might be expected, the imperial family brought an influx of visitors and thus a commensurate influx of money, and whether this paid for the new buildings, but it is impossible to answer such a question. All that can be said with certainty is that the status of Trier as an imperial capital was celebrated and marked with monumental buildings. This must include the cathedral. While a Christian building, it also carried secular significance for Trier, since its intra-mural position must be due to the influence of the imperial family (see Chapter 4 for a fuller discussion). It thus becomes part of the monumental

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[45] Wightman, 1970, p.108-9; Ausonius, *Gratiarium actio* I.
[46] There is an enormous bibliography on Constantine and his relations with the Church. For a summary of Constantine's position, see Cameron, 1993, chs. 4 and 5; Chadwick, 1993, p.125-136; and Millar, 1977, p.580-607. For more detail, see Barnes, 1981 and 1982.

grandeur of Trier, marking its administrative importance; at the same time, however, it subverts the classical tradition of marking success with monumental building, for it places that tradition within Christian parameters.

To be able to draw such conclusions about Metz would be useful, but the state of the city's archaeology forbids that; a pattern which is unfortunately all too familiar in the cities of northern Gaul (see figures 8-14)[47]. The forum is usually argued to lie near to the site of the cathedral in the north of the city, but no excavation has actually located its site or that of the basilica[48]. The case that this was the site of the forum is difficult to prove; only one excavation has been carried out in this area, so that not even the associated buildings which might suggest that in this area lay the monumental heart of the city have been discovered. The only building which has been discovered is the bathhouse which lies under the cathedral[49]. To adopt the Treveran model, in which the two major baths lay either side of the forum, might indicate that Metz's forum lay in this area, but the presence of the baths beneath St.-Pierre-aux-Nonnains, some distance away in the south of the city (discussed below), indicates that Metz's bathhouses were not so conveniently positioned as at Trier, and thus cannot serve as a guide to the whereabouts of the civic centre. The case must be regarded as not proven: there is no evidence to support the positioning of Metz's forum in the same area of the city as the cathedral. In any case, a fire in the middle of the fourth century seems to have ended occupation of this area around 350, and it might thus be assumed that this led to the virtual abandonment of this area of the city, including, if they were present in this area, the administrative buildings[50].

In the context of the fire, the developments on the site of St.-Pierre-aux-Nonnains may be seen as the development of a late fourth century administrative centre. Whether this represents a movement of the administrative buildings of Metz from the north of the city, perhaps as the result of the fire, cannot be known, although this area of the city has been well enough excavated that the absence of earlier administrative buildings may be taken to indicate that this area of the city was not the original home of this function of Metz[51]. In the case of the building lying beneath the

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[47] Wightman, 1985, p.231.
[48] There is of course no proof that Metz had a basilica; a city without one would, however, be extremely rare. On the site of the forum, see Halsall, 1995, p.228.
[49] Halsall, 1996, p.250.
[50] On the fire, see Halsall, 1996, p.241. On abandonment of sites in this area, see Tarrete et al, 1989, p.110-122.
[51] Brunella, 1989c, p.119; Heckenbenner and Thion, 1989, p.119-121; Delestre, 1989b, p.121-3.

later church of St.-Pierre-aux-Nonnains, as Halsall points out, there are problems concerning both its date and its function[52]. So far as the dating goes, tiles used in the construction of the site were sent for archaeomagnetic intensity dating; the results of this process suggested a date of A.D. 400 (+/- 15 years), although it must of course be remembered that this applies only to the building materials, not to the date of the construction of the building itself. The problem with this is that, as Halsall points out, this form of dating can be inaccurate; Halsall would prefer a date far closer to 300, on the basis that such tiles are found in Trier in early fourth century contexts, and that excavation at what Halsall claims as the source of the tiles, the kiln at Haute-Yutz, revealed no occupation of the site after c.350[53]. Set against this is the fact that tiles from excavations at the associated buildings, subjected to the same dating techniques, gave a date of 370 (again, +/- 15 years); a foundation trench from this site also yielded a coin of Valentinian I[54]. The two together give a date firmly in the last quarter of the fourth century: Halsall may be right about the inaccuracies of archaeomagnetic intensity dating, but he is guilty of presenting the possibility of inaccuracy as fact to support his argument that Metz was more-or-less deserted by 400. A date for construction of this building in the last quarter of the fourth century would match the pattern of limited urban enrichment at Cirencester and Verulamium, which, as has been seen, have both produced new city centre building work of this date.

The function of the building has been much disputed. Apparently on the basis that in a later incarnation this site became a church, and there is a tradition of assuming that buildings under mediaeval churches must be Late Roman churches, it has been suggested that the building may have been the first intra-mural church at Metz. A round water basin was also found on the site, which might be interpreted as a font[55]. The earliest traces of Christian burial, and of a deliberate remodelling of the building as a church, date to the early seventh century. Two more convincing explanations are that this building was originally the *palaestrum* of a baths complex, associated with what are certainly thermal buildings to the north, or that it was a public meeting place[56]. A combination of the two ideas is not out of the question; at

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[52] Halsall, 1995, p.222.
[53] Halsall, 1995, p.222.
[54] Delestre, 1989b, p.121; Halsall, 1995, p.222.
[55] On the attempt to use later churches as a guide to Late Roman churches, see Chapter 4. For a summary of attempts to argue that this site was a church, see Halsall, 1995, p.222; Wightman, 1985, p.291.
[56] Halsall, 1995, p.222-3.

Trier, as we have seen, the Kaiserthermen was converted from incomplete bathhouse into some form of basilica during the reigns of Valentinian and Gratian, while Wroxeter's civic centre appeared to combine basilica and baths in certainly the first half of the fourth century[57]. Its precise function is perhaps unimportant; it provided space for meeting, and it provides crucial evidence that as even in the third quarter of the fourth century, with little definite evidence for the presence of an urban population, the city could still mobilise resources and manpower sufficient to build a large public building.

The site, atop a hill, is a significant one, and this may explain the unexpected position of the entrance to this aisled building. It looks out across the river rather than across the city, and since it is only ten metres from the presumed line of the city walls access would have been hindered. This Halsall takes to indicate that the building predates this section of wall, and, certainly, the use of early fourth century funerary monuments in the wall means that it cannot have been begun before 300[58]. Given, however, that from c.350 onwards, as Chapter 2 discusses, the population of Metz were probably moving away to the south east, into an area straddling the city walls, it would seem unlikely that the wall post-dates c.350. To build a wall which did not enclose the majority of areas of occupation would go against Roman ideology, which placed the city firmly within carefully established boundaries[59]. Thus, if the building dates to the second half of the fourth century at earliest, then the wall should predate it. This being the case, there may be two reasons for this orientation of what was evidently a major civic building. Firstly, we might posit the existence of a gate, allowing ingress to the city generally, and specifically to this particular building, for those who had come up the Moselle; given the absence of evidence to the contrary, this is a reasonable supposition. Secondly, since this was a hilltop site, travellers passing Metz on the Moselle – the major route from the south of Gaul to both Trier and the northern frontier – would be presented with a monumental building with a doubtless monumental entrance: the city was making a statement, even as the population ebbed away from the city proper, of its wealth and status in the secular sphere.

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[57] Barker, *et alii*, 1997.
[58] Halsall, 1995, p.219;222.
[59] Rykwert, 1988, p.65.

The end of classical administration?

In the course of the later fourth and fifth centuries, the administrative role of the cities appears to have changed. In part, at least, this may have been caused by the two factors considered below; the "flight of the *curiales*", and the rise of the bishop as an administrator. It is worth, however, examining the evidence for the end of the traditional administrative function of the city, and actually demonstrating, rather than assuming, that it came to an end. The major problem lies in the nature of the evidence; Sidonius Apollinaris does indicate a relationship with members of the *curia* of both his own city of Clermont-Ferrand and that of other cities. This suggests that they were still concerned with their civic duties, but in most cases Sidonius is trying to persuade them to the return to the city to take up those duties.[60] Along traditional lines of argument, this suggests a loss of interest in the city by the elite, which must have had administrative consequences; these letters, however, also demonstrate that, even in the late fifth century, there were still niches in the administration of the city that needed to be filled in traditional ways. The elite might not be so keen on fulfilling their duty as in earlier centuries, but the city was still functioning in the same way as always; it had not evolved to adapt to the loss of the elite. Thus, the city might not function as well, but the machinery by which it functioned was still in place.

The problem with sources like Sidonius is that, if used incautiously, they create a mindset from which it is difficult to escape, especially when one moves on to examine different sorts of evidence. In this case, Sidonius paints a picture which appears to support the familiar "flight of the *curiales*" model. From there, it is very easy to turn to the material record, and interpret it in this light, rather than on its own terms. Very simply, one can look at an abandoned forum, and argue that it represents the collapse of the city's administrative function, merely because an incautious reading of Sidonius suggests that the elite were no longer present. An abandoned forum, on the other hand, may be interpreted in a variety of ways, and it certainly need not indicate that the curia no longer met in that city. The question must be to what extent the existence of a building implies that a city had a certain function; the

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[60] See, for example, *Ep.* 5.20; 6.3; 6.4; 8.8.

answer is that the historian should not attempt to construct an argument on the basis of a single building, but look at the context created by the entire city.

In the case of Metz, there is no evidence to draw any sort of conclusion; only one building, as has been seen, provides evidence of any sort of administrative function in either the fourth or fifth centuries. Certainly, it does indicate that some members of the elite of the city still wished to spend money in traditional conspicuous ways, for the glory of the city and for their own personal good, but it is impossible, on the evidence of a single building, to construct more of an argument than this.

The case of Trier is somewhat more complicated, since the waters are muddied by Salvian's account of the sack of the city. Salvian presents a picture of an early fifth century urban elite riddled with corruption, unable to defend itself from Frankish attack, and so unheeding of that attack that they sat in the city's ruins, surrounded by corpses, and called for the emperor to pay for games[61]. It has been suggested that the account, whatever the problems of interpreting it, does show that civilised life was still possible in Trier in the fifth century, and that the elite were still present within the city; in addition, Ward-Perkins has argued that the appeal of the elite for games was a way of proving to the emperor and to themselves that they were still Roman[62]. Bearing in mind that Salvian was hardly concerned with factual reporting, however, his account cannot be taken at face value in this way. His aim was to show the depths to which he felt that Gaul had sunk in turning away from Christ, and he chose to construct Trier as an illustration of this[63]. It is difficult to find anything which may be termed reliable historical "fact" in Salvian's account of fifth century Trier, unless it is argued that Salvian was presenting a picture of a generic city which would be familiar to his intended audience throughout Gaul, in order to make his message believable. In this case, Salvian may be said to provide evidence, in conjunction with Sidonius, that the Gallic elite still maintained an interest in their cities.

The other evidence for the relationship of at least one member of the elite with Trier comes from Sidonius. His correspondence with Arbogast, styled *comes*, and therefore presumably a part of the imperial administrative structure, suggests the

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[61] Salvian, *The Governance of God*, 6.39, 72-80, 82-89.
[62] Wightman, 1970, p.70; Harries, 1992, p.91; Ward-Perkins, 1984, p.106.
[63] See Chapter 1.

presence of some form of authority figure at Trier in the later fifth century[64]. We need not assume, however, that he resided actually within the city; a number of villas survived into the later fifth century, and it is possible that one of these, rather than the city itself, provided his base. That, though, he associated himself and his position with the city, whether resident there or not, suggests that the city still had meaning as part of the administrative network of the Western Empire. The correspondence between Sidonius and Arbogast demonstrates that those in positions of authority, formal or informal, within the cities of Gaul, were in contact, part of a web of friendship and influence; that a bishop might correspond with a secular leader shows that this web, despite the rise of the bishops as administrative figures, was not limited just to churchmen. Sidonius evidently regarded all those sufficiently educated to read his letters and sufficiently powerful to play a major part in the administration of a city as worthy recipients of both his letters and his wisdom. This is interesting, for it implies the continued unity of all of Gaul in some senses, at a time when the Franks were expanding in the north, and the Goths and Burgundians in the south. In the face of these separate – for all that they all in theory owed allegiance to the Roman emperors – kingdoms, the cities of Gaul remained linked in a cultural whole through the letter writing of men like Sidonius, and also Ruricius of Limoges, Caesarius of Arles, and Avitus of Vienne.

On the archaeological side, there is far less evidence of any sort for the fifth century development of Trier in the administrative sphere. This is largely because the monuments which have survived into the present day are those which would most interest the historian in this context, and are also those which, being large and prominent, continued to be used in a variety of ways between the fourth century and the present. That reuse has removed most, if not all, traces, of fifth century development. Only the Barbarathermen has produced evidence of a fifth century date, and thus only the Barbarathermen has produced evidence of a possible fifth century change of function. A small group of bone combs and spindle-whorls, decorated with concentric circles, was found here[65]. Wightman has variously suggested at different times that the building was used as a habitation or as a strongpoint guarding access to the city from the bridge, but there really is not sufficient evidence to make a strong

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[64] Wightman, 1970, p.70; 1985, p.304.
[65] Cüppers, 1984g, p.334-5.

case either way[66]. The combs and spindle-whorls are domestic objects, but their presence in only small numbers could be the remains of small-scale production on the site, or a chance loss by anyone who used the building. Certainly, a small group of domestic objects is not sufficient evidence for use of the building as private housing.

Cirencester and Verulamium provide much better evidence for development in the late fourth and fifth centuries, partly because they have been well excavated since the Second World War, and partly because their post-Roman history has been such that they have avoided becoming large modern cities; Verulamium lies on the edge of modern St. Albans, hardly a large city, while Cirencester is a small market town which has traditionally revolved around agriculture rather than industry. Thus, in both cases the opportunities for excavation have been much greater[67].

At Verulamium the picture of urban development at the end of the fourth century is confused. On the one hand, as we have seen, the forum was further monumentalised in the last quarter of the century with the addition of a new gateway, and the temple by the theatre was restored; Verulamium, on this evidence, was still prosperous, and its elite wished to celebrate their good fortune and continued presence in the city in traditional ways. On the other hand, however, at this period the theatre fell into disuse, and was used as a rubbish dump: by the end of the fourth century, the orchestra and the stage were buried in debris to a depth of over five feet. The debris itself was a mixture of ash, food-bones, oyster-shells, and potsherds, together with nearly two thousand five hundred coins, predominantly in small denominations[68]. It is interesting that, at the time money was spent on the temple next door[69], the theatre was being given over to refuse; given the quantity of rubbish, the temple immediately beside the theatre, a major civic site, must have smelt appalling, and that smell must have begun to affect the entire city centre. At the same time as the city centre was being further monumentalised, that programme of work was being undermined by the city's choice of rubbish dump.

It is also odd that the theatre should have been allowed to fall into such decay as work was being carried out alongside it. While the collection of rubbish in this way

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[66] Wightman, 1970, p.122; 1985, p.307.
[67] Both had undergone excavation before the 1950s, but only on a small scale at Cirencester, which left the site undamaged, and by Mortimer Wheeler at Verulamium. Wheeler, while far from being the perfect archaeologist, excavated and published to a far higher standard than did his contemporaries, and as a result was somewhat ahead of his time.
[68] Branigan, 1973, p.133-135; Wheeler, 1936, p.30-1.
[69] See Chapter 4 for more details.

must be evidence of continued civic organisation at least into the early years of the fifth century, it may also suggest that either the elite of the city were less wealthy than they had been, or that their desire to spend money on the city was waning. Given the conclusions of Chapters 2, that the elite were becoming increasingly impoverished as the army, the chief market for the produce of their villas and thus their major source of income, pulled out of Britain, the first seems the more likely conclusion. Despite this, proud to the last, what remained of the city's elite were prepared to spend money on their city in traditional displays of conspicuous expenditure; in this light, the building work appears to be a statement that all was well, and thus reveals that this was far from being the case.

The mixture of rubbish in the theatre is itself interesting. Much of it must be evidence of the vitality of the city's markets; certainly the coins, bearing in mind the quantity of them, and perhaps some of the food remains and potsherds, fall into this category. Some may, however, also come from private houses: some of the food remains and the potsherds might have a domestic origin, and since there is no evidence for a fire in Verulamium, the ash may well have come from domestic hearths. Thus, the theatre was taking on the role of a civic dump, the place to which all the refuse of the city centre, privately and publicly collected, found its way. There is certainly no reason to believe, as Branigan appears to, that all the rubbish came from the forum; it may have come from anywhere in the city, including the streets and any other sites used as markets[70].

Given that the coinage sequence ends in the early fifth century, and the pottery is thus unreliable as an indicator of date, the end of the civic buildings of Cirencester is difficult to date. The forum continued in use until it reached such a state of wear that the outlines of individual stones could barely be made out; there was obviously insufficient money to replace them, but the forum continued to be significant enough to continue in use. The absence of any rubbish lying over this last surface must indicate that it continued to be kept clean[71]. Thus, the layer of dark earth which forms the next layer was deliberately laid over the forum; were this not the case, and the dark earth indicated disuse, one would expect to find rubbish beneath it. Dark earth, as on the site of every Romano-British city, covers the final occupation layers; into this, occasional features have been dug, indicating some further use of the site. As

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[70] Branigan, 1973, p.135.
[71] Wacher, 1974, p.313.

Chapter 2 has suggested, this layer of dark earth may be best interpreted as evidence for the agricultural use of city centre sites, rather than as evidence of disuse; in this context, the layer of ash and charcoal covering parts of the forum courtyard may be seen as either evidence of deliberate destruction of the site to make room for agriculture – unlikely in view of the fact that the forum and its ranges were stone-built – or as evidence of fertilisation. Dark earth above this layer has yielded both coins of a range of dates from 345 to 402, and Oxford colour-coated coarse ware, which was produced between c.240 and the early fifth century[72]. Just as we might expect coinage to have survived longer in circulation than was normal, in the absence of new issues, the collapse of the Romano-British pottery industries, discussed in Chapter 3, may have resulted in pottery being forced to last longer than in earlier periods. The two factors together should suggest the continued use of the forum well into the fifth century. Wacher has suggested a date of c.430, but this might be a conservative estimate[73]. Certainly, the forum experienced extremely heavy use over a lengthy period between its final paving in the final quarter of the fourth century and the final decision to cover it with earth.

The pattern at the basilica is similar. Coins found in the patching of the final floor of Room 3/4 date the last work on the site to the period after 402, despite the coinage found in the dark earth above, which vary in date from 330 to 378[74]. This is yet another example of the fact that coins of the second half of the fourth century continued to be reused for at least twenty five years after their date of issue, and in many cases far longer. It is worth emphasising again that if coinage was produced in 330, and was still in use seventy years later in more normal circumstances, then coins from the very last issues to reach Roman Britain in the early fifth century might continue in circulation for even longer. Coins of 402 only give an earliest possible date: on the evidence of earlier coinage, they quite possibly imply a date closer to 450, at a conservative estimate, or even 470-500, as an extreme. In the case of the basilica, both the patching to the latest floor, and pits dug into it, which must be dated later than the patching since they cut through it, contain coins of 402[75]. The coins only demonstrate that the work was done in at earliest 402; the end of the basilica, marked by the pits which were then sealed with rubble from the destruction of the basilica,

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[72] Holbrook and Timby, 1998, p.119.
[73] Wacher, 1974, p.313.
[74] Holbrook and Timby, 1998, p.110-111.
[75] Holbrook and Timby, 1998, p.111.

may have occurred far later. It is impossible to tell from the rubble whether the basilica simply collapsed through neglect, or whether it was deliberately pulled down. The patching of the latest floor would suggest a lack of money in the city in the early fifth century, since the floor was not replaced; the pits may well have been rubbish pits, since they contain pottery shards, and this would imply that in its final phases, before it either fell or was pulled down, the basilica served only as an occasional rubbish dump. Presumably the upkeep of the forum, as an open space, was easier and cheaper than the upkeep of the basilica.

At Verulamium and at Cirencester, then, use of at least the forum can be pushed towards at least the middle of the fifth century. Accompanying the fora in these cities were a few grand houses. Whether, however, this should be taken to mean the continuance of any kind of administrative function, let alone a classical one, is questionable; Wacher's crucial distinction between town life as understood by the Romans, and life on the site of a Roman town is important here[76]. For the classical model of civic administration, the town should have been run by a *curia*, made up of the elite, who also provided the magistrates; one man rule, the ideology of tyranny, was never acceptable from the days of the Greek city states onward[77]. Crucially, however, while the elite might run the city, those of the lower classes were entitled to meet and vote; the citizen was a significant part of the city. Thus, at face value, the presence of a handful of elite houses might demonstrate some form of administration continuing, but not necessarily in accordance with the classical model. Members of the elite were ruling the city, but without input from the lower classes. The problem, however, is that lack of lower class housing does not indicate that they no longer took an interest in the city; the city's administrative and social functions had always extended well beyond the city walls and into the countryside. It is entirely possible that people still regarded the city as a central place and visited on important occasions, while choosing not to live there; the continued maintenance of the fora at Cirencester and Verulamium would certainly suggest that for much of the first half of the fifth century an open meeting place was still required. On the basis of the cities alone, it would appear that until at latest c.450, the Romano-British city continued to provide a traditional administrative function to the surrounding countryside; after that

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[76] Wacher, 1874, p.411.

[77] Osborne, 1996, p.193-4. The Roman Republican system was willing to accept a tyrant for limited periods, to deal with emergencies, and this position was enshrined within Roman law (Crawford, 1992, chs. 12-15).

period, it is difficult see more than the occasional house on the sites of Verulamium and Cirencester, and their fora had gone out of use. Thus, even if the last few families on the site continued to provide administration, it is difficult to see that administration conforming to the classical model: not enough elite families appear to have been involved, since they disappear entirely from the archaeological record, and there are no formally defined meeting places.

The only problem with the model up to 450 is that there is no evidence for a rural population whose lives might have continued to revolve around Verulamium and Cirencester. The villas had gone, leaving the only visible members of the elite those still living in the cities; a handful of families might be argued to be insufficient to constitute a *curia*, making city administration appear to be a form of power share by only a few families. In addition, the lower classes are entirely invisible. This, however, is less of a problem; since rural excavation in Britain has concentrated upon villas, the rural peasantry are largely invisible for any period of Roman Britain. Additionally, the maintenance of central meeting places suggests that people were coming to the cities well into the fifth century. Perhaps, then, until c.450 in Britain, we can see a bastardised form of civic administration; the city retained its central place, but the elite families who controlled the function were drastically reduced in number, and were thus able to run the city as a closed shop.

Quite why the city ceased to function in the traditional administrative sphere is not easily explained, but the answer, as Esmonde Cleary makes clear, must lie in the withdrawal of imperial administration from Britain along with the legions in the early fifth century. With it went the system of government which demanded the use of cities, and which gave the elite the opportunity to parade their power and status[78]. Without that system, the city ceased to have meaning; it was designed to administer an area defined by the Roman state, in a way also defined by the state, for officials put in place by the state. Once Britain was outside the Roman Empire, that area, that means of government, those officials, no longer had meaning. There was no need for the elite to spend money upon the city, since they had nothing to gain from doing so.

This assumes, of course, that the elite had found some other way of showing their wealth and status, and thus maintaining their social position. This is where the argument runs into difficulties, for the city must be seen as more than an expression of

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[78] Esmonde Cleary, 1989, p.144-5.

Romanitas; it was the forum for the activity of the elite. If they were not spending money in the city, then they must have found some other, archaeologically invisible, way of demonstrating status. Obviously not all took this route; some clung onto the city as an expression of their position, maintaining the forum, and, as Chapter 2 shows, building grand houses. Such families were, however, in the minority; assuming that an elite class continued to exist – and it is difficult to imagine a completely egalitarian sub-Roman Britain – they were displaying their power and wealth elsewhere. The first signs of their presence only emerge in the early sixth century, with the re-occupation of the iron age hillforts[79]. In the intervening period, their presence is invisible, and their reasons for rejecting the city can only be guessed at. Reece has suggested that Romanisation was a fashion imposed upon Britain that was never entirely popular, and that, released of the shackles of Roman government, the population simply rejected it[80]. This cannot wholly be the case, unless one accepts Reece's argument that the cities of Roman Britain were not truly Roman cities, but little more than administrative villages[81]. The stone built monuments of the British cities, however, simply do not support his assertion, however, and Reece's explanation does not account for the disappearance of the villas. There seems no need to abandon the villa simply because it is stone built to a Roman model. Chapter 2, though, has suggested that the end of Roman rule ended long distance trade in Britain, and that the villas suffered on this basis; the materials were not easily available to repair them, and on this basis their occupants either demolished them and rebuilt in timber, or moved to a different site altogether.

More likely is the scenario in which the absence of imperial governors and the administrative systems of the Roman Empire meant that no-one in the cities was providing strong leadership. In this case, the city simply fragmented, and the concept of community ceased to exist. Thus, it became a situation of "every man for himself"; rather than channelling resources into the city, each elite family chose more private means of display – feasts, perhaps, or the reputation for generous hospitality which appears in early mediaeval Welsh legend – in the countryside[82]. The cities had

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[79] Osborn, 1998.
[80] Reece, 1992, p.140-2.
[81] Reece, 1988, ch. Set 1.
[82] For examples of great hospitality, see the accounts of feasts in the stories *Pwyll Prince of Dyfed* and Manawyddan Son of Llyr, in the *Mabinogion.*

become irrelevant, not because of fashion, but because the concept of community itself had become irrelevant.

The flight of the *curiales*[83]

The so-called "flight of the *curiales*" has long been the standard explanation for the fate of the Late Antique city in general. On the basis that the cities from, broadly speaking, the later fourth century onward, show decreased evidence of spending on traditional Roman monuments and civic amenities, while the villas are argued to show evidence of increased wealth, it is suggested that the curial class abandoned the cities, choosing to spend their money on private displays of wealth[84]. In part, so runs the argument, the curial classes were driven from the cities by the increased demands of the imperial government for taxes; it was a curial duty to collect the taxes, and failure to do meant that the shortfall became their responsibility[85]. It is also suggested that society had become increasingly stratified, and that it was well-nigh impossible to rise up the social scale as a result: since this was the case, there was little point in the curial class continuing to exist within an urban environment. Conspicuous expenditure would no longer allow a man to rise from the curial class into the senatorial aristocracy[86]. Peter Brown has resisted this explanation, arguing instead that society remained as fluid as ever; as he points out, Augustine rose from a poor background to a social and political position from which he could seriously consider a provincial governorship, while Hopkins' work on Ausonius, which demonstrates Ausonius' rise from comparatively humble origins as the son of a doctor to become a respected member of the imperial court at Trier, would also suggest that Brown is correct[87]. Brown argues that the cities simply became irrelevant as power came to be derived from a different source: the emperor. Titles and patronage from this source marked out a man's status, not money lavished on his home city[88].

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[83] These ideas were presented in a preliminary form at the Celtic Conference in Classics, at the University of Glasgow in September 2002. I am grateful to all those who attended and contributed to the discussion on that occasion, and in particular to Theresa Urbainczyk and Keith Hopwood.
[84] Jones, 1964, p.762.
[85] Cameron, 1993b, p.168-9, gives an overview.
[86] Jones, 1964, p.762; Ward-Perkins, 1998, p.375ff.
[87] Brown, 1971, p.26-33; Brown, 2000; Hopkins, 1961.
[88] Brown, 1971, p.40.

When these arguments are applied to Britain and northern Gaul, however, only half the pattern of evidence needed to support them emerges. Public building ceases in the cities; no new public buildings are to be found in Britain dating to after 400, while in Trier and Metz there is little evidence of anything new after that date. Indeed, in northern Gaul as a whole, as Wightman has pointed out, no Roman public building is known which was constructed after 450[89]. On the other hand, however, as Chapter 2 demonstrated, in Britain the end of the villa buildings, if not the villa estates, predates the end of the cities, while in the regions of Trier and Metz very few villas were still in operation by 400. In Britain, then, there is a gap in our knowledge of elite activity between c.400-450, and the re-fortification of the iron-age hill fort sites in c.500-550[90]. Archaeologically, a British elite class does not exist to modern eyes in that period. In addition, the number of villas still in operation in northern Gaul does not support the standard "flight of the *curiales*" explanation for the end of the classical city.

An interesting pattern of conspicuous expenditure in rural areas does exist in northern Gaul, however. The *Reihengraberzivilization*, or Row Grave Culture, so called because of huge cemeteries like that at Kreffeld-Gellup in which the graves, inhumations rather than cremations, are laid out in long, neat, rows, has long been associated by historians and archaeologists with the Franks; settlers and prisoners of war used as soldiers in the Roman army from the fourth century onward[91]. First appearing in the early fifth century, and lasting into the late sixth or early seventh centuries, this type of burial is reasonably common in northern Gaul and is distinct from the Gallo-Roman burials of the south and of earlier periods. It occurred in two waves. In the first, dating to the early fifth century, such graves are few in number, while in the second, dating in general to the end of the fifth century, and in the Metz region to c.520, these burials are far more common[92]. It is worth emphasising the point that of the early fifth century graves in these northern cemeteries – and not all northern cemeteries conform to this Row Grave type – only a minority fit this Germanic type. Most appear to have been of people who either chose not to bury with goods, or who were too poor to do so: there is no way of distinguishing between these

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[89] Wightman, 1977, p.304.
[90] See Osborn, 1998.
[91] James, 1988, bases much of his discussion of the Franks around the premise that their graves, and thus areas of settlement, customs, and dress, can be easily identified. See also Wallace-Hadrill, 1996, p.66, for a similar, traditional, assessment of the Row Grave Culture as Frankish burials.
[92] Halsall, 1995, p.75-109; Halsall, 1996, p.251; Halsall, 2001, p.129.

two possible explanations, but the result is that most graves *appear* to conform to a more traditional Gallo-Roman type, with, at most, a few pots. The grave goods of the apparently richer graves lend themselves readily to identification as Germanic: male burials are typically accompanied by weapons and armour; crested helmets; mail shirts; spears; longswords; and of course the *francisca*, or throwing axe, and the scramasax, a form of single-edged short-sword. None are traditionally Roman in appearance[93]. Most striking of the goods found in the female graves – or, at least, those graves which tend to be labelled female because they contain more jewellery and fewer weapons – is the *tutullus*, the trumpet-shaped brooch. The only artefacts which are obviously Roman are the official belt sets and brooches; insignia of rank within the late Roman political system[94]. Superficially, the pattern is simple: the Franks may not have destroyed the cities, but they were in Gaul in significant numbers; as we know from sources such as Ammianus Marcellinus and Gregory of Tours, they played an important part in Gallic politics; and presumably, they took little interest in the cities, since there are very few signs of their presence before the sixth century[95]. The cities declined because the Franks, as the most powerful people in Gaul, chose to exercise their power away from the traditional power centres of the Roman world, and thus effectively rendered the cities redundant.

This argument, however, only works on the most superficial level. So far as the cities go, Paris, Cologne, and Tournai all contain extremely rich burials which we can attribute with reasonable certainty to members of Frankish royal houses[96]. While we might debate how far we can trust the accounts of Gregory and others which place fifth and early sixth century Frankish kings within cities as royal residences, the grave of the fifth century king Childeric at Tournai seems identified beyond reasonable doubt by the seal ring found in it marked *Childerici Regis*[97]. The Franks maintained an interest in at least the major cities of Gaul.

More significantly, attribution of the Row Grave Culture to the Franks is also, as Guy Halsall has argued, a mistake. Quite simply, the thesis that these are Frankish graves falls down in three significant areas. Firstly, it is a mistake to assume that burial rites are an ethnic rather than a social construct; in other words, we should not

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[93] Halsall, 1992; Halsall, 1995, p.247.
[94] Halsall, 1992; Halsall, 1995, p.250.
[95] Even those Germanic "barbarians" associated by Christian writers such as Salvian with the destruction of Gallic cities are never Franks: it is the Goths and the Vandals who destroy cities.
[96] James, 1988, p.152-4.
[97] On the grave of Childeric at Tournai, see James, 1988, and Halsall, 2001.

look for a Gaul split on ethnic grounds, but rather for one divided by social difference, with burial rites constructed to demonstrate that difference. Secondly, if this rite was Frankish in origin, we should expect to see it practised north of the Rhine in the third and fourth centuries, and carried south into the Empire with the first raiders who settled in northern Gaul. North of the Rhine, however, inhumation was not practised in this period, but corpses were rather cremated or exposed. Instead, inhumation was the prevalent rite in Gaul. Thirdly, Row Grave cemeteries are spread widely across northern Gaul; they do not match those areas in which the *Notitia Dignitatum*, the early fifth century list of detachments of the Roman army, has Franks settled. The evidence simply does not support the idea that the Row Grave cemeteries provide tangible evidence of Frankish presence. Some graves may well contain the bodies of men who could trace their lineage back over one hundred years to an origin north of the Rhine, but not all can have done[98].

A more convincing explanation is that the Row Grave culture provides evidence of two populations becoming increasingly entwined, intermarrying despite the laws found in the Theodosian Code, and growing steadily into a single culture. Weapons and jewellery reflect a more barbaric appearance for all, while inhumation rather than cremation reflects the adoption of Gallo-Roman practices when it came to death and burial. This, however, is too simplistic, relying as it does on the assumption that burial practices passively reflect "real life". A more sophisticated explanation relies upon Ian Hodder's observation that "burial ritual is not a passive reflection of other aspects of life. It is meaningfully constructed... In death people often become what they have not been in life...", a sentiment supported by Shanks and Tilley: "no social practices exist without signification and without being situated in an overall symbolic field"[99]. In death, in other words, a person can take on an identity which they never had in life, not for their own benefit, but for that of those they leave behind. Thus, as an example, most Roman women of the classical period, according to the memorials constructed by their loving husbands and sons, were ideal Roman matrons, who sewed, weaved, ran the household, and produced virtuous children[100]. Credit thus rebounds to the men of the household for controlling their women properly. The list of "ideal types" goes on and on, and the point is that certain people,

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[98] Halsall, 1992.
[99] Hodder, 1982; Shanks and Tilley, 1987, p.75.
[100] See, for example, the "Eulogy of Turia" (ILS 8393), and ILS 8402, 8403, 8444, 1218.

presumably, given the wealth present in the graves, of the elite classes, in nearly every area of northern Gaul in Late Antiquity were being given an identity in death which conformed to a certain model. Through display of the goods in the funeral procession, the families of the dead were making a statement of their own identity to the rest of the world. Halsall argues, quite correctly, that this identity must be linked to changes in Late Roman society; some factor drove these changes in burial practice, and thus drove certain people to create an identity for themselves[101].

Halsall's explanation for changing burial rites among the richest segment of the northern Gallic population is two-fold. Firstly, he argues that the political chaos in northern Gaul in the fifth century led to the effective withdrawal of Roman imperial administration from the region, with the occasional exceptions of rule by Aetius and Arbogast. This in turn deprived the elite of the area of the meaning and significance of their titles, and this loss of political position in turn threatened their social position. Faced with the loss of the imperial administrative hierarchy, and thus with a power vacuum, members of the elite looked to alternative ways of displaying and reinforcing their power, and found them in burial practices. A son might hope to maintain the position of his father by burying his father in a way which asserted the power and authority of the family. The second part of Halsall's argument is that this necessitated withdrawal from the cities, to be closer to the rural communities in which their power bases lay[102]. Thus, if Halsall is correct, the city was losing its significance as the arena in which the elite both acted, and demonstrated their status.

To an extent, the thesis may be supported by the absence of such burials from the Trier region in the fifth century. As has been discussed, the imperial presence in that area was much more obvious, and much stronger. There are, however, problems. The belt sets and buckles are argued to represent authority within the Roman system, and are thus buried as part of the funerary display. If the reason for this funerary display is the collapse of Roman structures of authority and administration, however, then these insignia must surely have been redundant. They might be explained away as an attempt to convince the population of northern Gaul that Roman authority was still in place, but the kind of upheaval for which Halsall argues would have to have been common knowledge. Additionally, the argument does not explain why the elite should have had to retreat to the countryside; the implication is that the majority of

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[101] Halsall, 2001, p.129.
[102] Halsall, 1992; Halsall, 1996, p.251-2.

the population now existed in rural communities rather than in the cities, but, as Chapter 2 discussed, Halsall makes a strong case that, rather than Metz having been abandoned, the population simply shifted to the south, into an area which has received far less archaeological attention. Thus, rather than the elite being pulled away from the city in order to be able to continue to demonstrate their power and status, the geographical location and perhaps the nature of these changing burial rites must represent a far more conscious and pro-active decision to abandon the city.

Halsall also ignores the question of the nature of the identity being created, and this may be crucial. This appears to have two distinct parts. Firstly, there is the fact that this must be a warrior identity for the male; that military prowess is crucial is indicated by the weapons. In Roman society, the military and the civilian spheres were separated utterly, even under the early Republic when Rome's army was a citizen army. No civilian ever carried a weapon; his safety was ensured by the army, and thus by the Empire. In contrast, the soldier identified himself by carrying arms and wearing belts; bearing a sword, crucially, since the burials of the Row Grave Culture all include swords, was the legal right of a soldier, and, indeed, defined him as a soldier[103]. The ideology is one of Imperial, rather than individual, responsibility for the safety of the Empire. The new ideology being asserted by the weapon burials of northern Gaul, then, implies a closing of the gap between the civilian and military spheres for certain men. The comment being made to individual communities of northern Gaul through these elite graves is that certain men can be relied upon to ensure the safety of those communities. This in turn implies both a feeling that the Empire can no longer ensure the safety of all, and thus that powerful individuals will instead care for their communities, as well as a conscious rejection of a significant part of Roman ideology.

That this is a conscious rejection is born out by the nature of the grave goods. These are not Roman arms and armour in the graves of *the Reihengraberzivilization*, but Germanic. This is a deliberate dismissal of Roman culture, and a conscious

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[103] Coulston, 2000, p.91. I am grateful to Keith Hopwood for pointing out to me that civilians might, especially in the provinces, in actual fact carry weapons as a matter of course (see also Brunt, 1975). This does not alter the fact, however, that the Roman ideology was that the civilian and military spheres should be separated, and that the right to bear arms was representative of this ideology. That this ideology was still part of the Late Antique consciousness is indicated by the Treveran tombstone which declares the dead man to have been both a Frankish citizen and a Roman soldier "under arms": the two spheres are clearly separated, using the image of weaponry in part to do so (James, 1988, p.42; *CIL* XIII, no.3574).

adoption of the barbarian; in other words, those within the Roman Empire who adopted this identity were taking on the appearance of "the other", against which Greek and Roman culture so regularly defined itself. Through their burial practices, and through the location of those practices in the countryside away from the city, part of the northern Gallic elite were rejecting Roman culture and society.

This phenomenon of warrior burials must, then, as in Archaic Greek scholarship, be linked to developments in the city[104]. The city was not only the hub around which Roman society revolved, but also the centre for elite activity. The link between these Germanic style burials and the city must, however, be a negative one, for no Row Grave cemeteries are found among the necropoleis of the cities of northern Gaul, but are rather in the Gallic countryside. It is an assumption, but it seems a reasonable one, that those members of the elite buried in this way in these places, or at least their descendants who performed the burials, were rejecting the city. To move the site of burial away from the suburban necropoleis was to both reject tradition, and to reject the city as a place in which the elite chose to make statements about their status. Death had always been an opportunity to make such a statement: it allowed a procession, perhaps feasting and even, for the very rich games, and commemoration of good deeds, wealth, and status for ever after in a monument adorned with a suitable epitaph. To reject the city as the focus for such activity was to make a statement that the city was no longer relevant to sections of the northern Gallic elite. Given continued Christian building at Metz, however, while this pattern of burials is to be found in the countryside, we should not see this as a passive reflection of the decline of the city; for some people, as Chapter 4 argues, Christianity gave the city continued significance. At the very least, to spend money privately, rather than upon civic amenities such as temples, fora, feasts, games, and so on, must be seen both as an abdication of traditional responsibilities to the city, and a denial of the Roman urban ideology which insisted that expenditure be for the greater good, albeit with many benefits for the elite classes. The portion of the elite classes of northern Gaul who chose to do this, it would appear, do conform to the traditional model of elite disenchantment with the city to at least some extent.

Whether, of course, they were among those still living in villas at this period, or whether they came from those families whose villas decayed and disappeared in

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[104] See Morris, 1987; Snodgrass, 1991.

Late Antiquity, as is the case with so many Gallic villas, it is impossible to tell for certain. That money was being spent at the graveside rather than in the city should not be taken to indicate that these elite families spent all their money on grave goods, and were thus forced to abandon both the traditional urban responsibilities of their class and their homes. Rather, both adoption of this warrior identity and withdrawal from urban life should be seen as conscious, controlled, choices arising from the same set of circumstances, rather than the first driving the second through economic necessity. What exactly that set of circumstances, which would drive a member of the elite to abandon the traditional elite way of life, could be is, however, open to speculation.

We should resist the temptation, I think, to see this construction of a separate identity as some form of pagan backlash against Christian adoption of the city; as an explanation this is too crude[105]. Perhaps more likely is some form of rebellion against Rome and against Roman authority, both represented by the city and by its demands on the elite class. This, perhaps, given the widespread nature of these forms of burial, should be seen as far less formal than the risings of Constantine and the other usurpers; more a rebellion of thought and feeling, occasionally sparking into skirmish, than an armed uprising. If this is the case, then one possible explanation for their discontent might be Church control of society through its control of the city, giving those who chose to remain outside the Church hierarchy or who failed to achieve high office no opportunity to wield any sort of power. This would explain not only the separate, non-Roman, identity, but also the apparent refusal to take part in urban affairs.

A term for these malcontents, "Bagaudae", does spring to mind, although any attempt to crudely link textual and material evidence is methodologically undesirable. In this case, this is especially true, given the nature of the textual evidence for the existence of the Bagaudae. As Drinkwater has pointed out, only Salvian, among a ragbag of incidental references of doubtful veracity, provides an account of the Bagaudae containing any significant depth or detail[106]. On the basis of the existing evidence, however, several differing theories have emerged about the nature of the Bagaudae. Drinkwater has argued that, in their fifth century incarnation, as described

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[105] Attempts have been made to identify the presence of certainly Christian burials in cemeteries containing Row Grave Culture burials, but these have been hampered by both poor methodology and an understandable uncertainty about how to define a Christian burial. See Halsall, 1995, p.246, for an overview.

[106] Drinkwater, 1992, p.209-210.

by Salvian in Book 5 of *The Governance of God*, the Bagaudae were peasants who, dislocated from society by a disintegration of local systems of law and order, sought security in the leadership of various "second order" figures of authority; lesser aristocrats and yeomen, among others. He also suggests that the picture is distorted by the use of the term for anyone involved in illegal activity[107]. Salvian, however, paints a picture of a much more organised Bagaudae, almost amounting to a separate state, who offered an alternative to life under either the Roman authorities or the barbarians[108]. With this in mind, Van Dam's interpretation, that the Bagaudae were organised revolutionary aristocrats, may be felt to be preferable[109]. The problem is, yet again, that of using Salvian as a straightforward source of fact. His aim was not to provide an honest picture of the state of Gaul in the fifth century; rather, he wanted to shock people into becoming better Christians by presenting them with a picture of a Gaul in ruins. Salvian's point was that the Romans were such bad Christians, and thus such bad governors, that life either under barbarian rule, or outside the law, was better than life under Roman administration. Just as the barbarians, and indeed the cities, are literary devices designed to aid his message, so are the Bagaudae. All that can be taken from Salvian is the presence of some kernel of truth, which his audience could recognise, and which would thus give his story of a Gaul on the brink of utter collapse some authenticity. From this, we might deduce the presence of people in Gaul who lived outside the law, but no more. Whether they were members of the elite classes, and thus might be connected with the burials of the Row Grave Culture, is impossible to say. The two could be entirely unconnected; all that can be said is that some members of the elite, on the basis of their burials, chose to reject the city[110].

The Christian bishop

Set against these pictures of the administrative buildings of Trier and Metz falling into disuse, and of portions of the elite class of Metz rejecting the city, can be

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[107] Drinkwater, 1989, p.189-203.
[108] *On the Governance of God*, 5.
[109] Van Dam, 1985, chs. 2-3.
[110] In support of this claim that we can take nothing definite from literary accounts of the Bagaudae, see Wood, 2000, p.502-4.

set the rise of the bishop as a key part of the administration of the city[111]. If hagiography is regarded as creating a set of ideals for Christian life, and an example according to which all Christians should live, then the early sections of Constantius of Lyons' *Life* of St. Germanus provide a model for the ideal bishop. He had a "liberal education"; trained in law in Rome and rose to the heights of the legal profession; had a wife "whose birth, wealth and character were all of the highest"; and was made "dux" and appointed to govern both Armorica and Nervica. Constantius sums up this list of desirable qualities by saying:

> Assuredly his training was being directed by the hidden wisdom of God so that nothing should be lacking to the completeness of the apostolic pontiff-to-be. Eloquence was provided to equip the preacher, legal learning as an aid to justice, and the society of a wife to witness to his chastity. [112]

It is interesting that only the highest imperial rankings should be considered to be appropriate preparation for a bishop-to-be. It would appear that the Church equated ministering to the souls of a single diocese to governing a province; thus, the Christian city matched the imperial province, and therefore there could be no higher Christian position than to be bishop of a city. This had to be the case; for all that some bishops were more powerful than others due to personal charisma or intellect or access to the imperial ear, the Church could not institutionally provide anything above the rank of a bishop. There was no Christian equivalent to the province for a bishop to govern, and thus the former provincial governor must be satisfied with the care of a city.

As Constantius of Lyon makes clear through his list of qualifications, the ideal bishop should come from the elite classes; for all that Late Antique society was socially fluid, only someone with a moneyed, privileged background could usually be expected to have the education and administrative success supposedly enjoyed by St. Germanus. With such a background, a bishop was ideally trained to govern a city. He was also trained, of course, to desire power and to be competitive; hence the equation of city and province. Having governed at that level, a member of the elite might not be prepared to take part in city governance unless he was reassured that the two were equivalent. This is quite a conceptual jump. Traditionally, involvement in the running of a provincial city was only the starting point for an ambitious man or family;

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[111] This can only apply to Gaul, since we have no evidence for the activities of bishops in Britain in this period.
[112] *Life of St. Germanus*, 1-2.

success at that level might bestow position at provincial level, and then at the city of Rome itself, this in turn leading to extremely senior administrative positions such as provincial governorships. The introduction of Christianity and the Christian administrative hierarchy into this mix resulted, therefore, in an enormous but entirely necessary promotion for the individual city. The expected order of things for the ambitious Christian was being changed, and this in turn placed the emphasis to an unprecedented degree on the individual city. The links between emperor and city were being tightened, the administrative chain tying the two together shortened. Under the earlier Empire, embassies might be sent from cities to the emperor, but they consisted largely of *curiales*, with little experience of these rarified political heights[113]. The bishop, on the other hand, was ideally a member of the provincial elite, and might go straight from his city to intercede with the emperor for his community with greater expectations of success. The administration of the empire, in informal, Christian, terms, was devolving to the level of the individual city.

While this was in theory the case, in practice, of course, the extent to which it worked depended to a large degree upon the individual bishop. To start with, it is far from clear how many bishops of fourth and fifth century Gaul actually had the kind of background which Constantius of Lyon presented as the ideal. Brown has suggested that, in general, very few bishops came from these exalted social classes; most were only of the curial class, and their clergy came from lower down the scale[114]. To take two examples of extremely well-known bishops from elsewhere in the empire, St. Augustine came from a poor background, while John Chrysostom began work in a clerk's office in Antioch[115]. Of the best-known Gallic bishops, in other words those who not only published widely, but about whom we know some biographical details, we know almost nothing of the fourth century Hilary of Poitiers, although it is obvious from his work that he was both well-educated and gifted; he had mastered the standard repertoire of Latin theological authorities[116]. Ruricius of Limoges was a member of one of the great Gallic aristocratic families, the Anicii, and his wife was of patrician ancestry[117]. About Caesarius of Arles we know little, and the claim made in his *Vita* that he began to give charitably to the poor at the age of seven should not be

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[113] Millar, 1992, p.375-85.
[114] Brown, 2002, p.49.
[115] Brown, 1971, p.30; p.33.
[116] See Whickham's Introduction to his translation of Hilary's work, p.12-13.
[117] See Mathisen's Introduction to his translation of Ruricius' *Letters*, p.3.

taken as evidence of his family's wealth; given the nature of hagiography, the claim should be regarded as fictionalised[118]. Certainly, however, he, too, was well-educated. Sidonius Apollinaris, on the other hand, seems nearly to match the ideal laid down by Constantius; his father and grandfather were both Praetorian Prefect of Gaul, while he was Prefect of the City of Rome before becoming bishop of Clermont-Ferrand in c.470[119]. These, however, while the best known of the Gallic bishops, represent only a tiny proportion of the whole, and we know most about them either because of the debated in which they involved themselves, or because of their prolific publishing. There need be no equation between elite status and publication; Caesarius and Hilary might both have received their educations in monasteries (we know that Caesarius was part of the monastic community at Lerins[120]) rather than in a school. It could be the case that most bishops in Gaul in the fourth and fifth centuries were of far lower social standing than Sidonius and Ruricius; equally, they may have come from similar backgrounds, but chosen not to publish, with the result that we now know little or nothing about them[121].

One way around this is to point out that there were two ways of becoming bishop, both of which made him desirable to the community which elected him. Firstly, he might, like John Chrysostom, for example, have a reputation for great holiness; secondly, he could have great administrative experience, like Sidonius Apollinaris. St. Germanus, of course, as an ideal, was said to have both. Sidonius wrote to Bishop Perpetuus of Tours of the selection of a bishop for Bourges, in which process Sidonius was involved. He envisaged the outcry should a monk be selected:

> "This nominee," they will protest, "discharges the office not of a bishop, but rather of an abbot; he is better qualified to intercede with the heavenly judge for our souls than with an earthly judge for our bodies." [122]

His assessment of the successful candidate, Simplicius, was the following:

> If respect is to be paid to birth... his fathers presided over sees or courts: his race has been illustrious in both walks of life, with a galaxy of bishops and prefects; thus it has always been the custom of his ancestors to enunciate the law either of God or of man. [123]

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[118] *Life* 1.3; Mueller's Introduction to her translation, p.5.
[119] See Anderson's Introduction to his translation of Sidonius' work, and also Harries, 1992; 1994.
[120] Mueller's introduction, p.5-6.
[121] Brown (1997, p.65) has suggested that Gallic bishops were always of the elite class, imposed upon their city form above rather than rising through the ranks of the clergy. His argument, however, is supported only by the example of Simplicius (discussed below); the lack of available evidence on the subject prevents solid conclusions from being drawn.
[122] *Ep.* 7.9.

Such a judgement, that the ideal bishop should combine temporal and spiritual influence, so as to be able to rule effectively in both Christian and worldly matters, is supported by his letter to Bishop Patiens:

> I say nothing of the unceasing watchfulness, prayer, and expenditure – a burden imposed upon you daily by the distress of your impoverished townsmen... I say nothing of the sense of proportion which guides all your actions, of your blending of geniality and asceticism which is so generally acknowledged that the present king, as everyone knows, unceasingly praises your feasts, and the queen your fasts. [124]

On the basis of the second two extracts, the ideal bishop, as Constantius of Lyon pointed out, combined Christian and secular power and experience. When the first passage is taken into account, however, it becomes obvious that the more desirable candidate, if Sidonius were forced to choose between a spiritual and a temporal shepherd, would have secular rather than Christian claims to the post; the ability to intercede with God was all very well, but the demands of the city in this life were greater. In general, Rapp has argued, most bishops were of elite background; the administrative component of their role encouraged selection of candidates with the kind of education which a wealthy background conferred[125].

Sidonius, however, was a member of the highest elite class in Gaul. Thus, it might be said that he looked in other bishops for the qualities which he felt important in a bishop, the definition of which qualities was shaped by his background and by a desire to defend his own position. Certainly, there is no hint in Sidonius' letters of any great theological knowledge: his concern is with the running of an urban community in this life, rather than with the fate of his flock in the next. Even his praise of the festival of Rogations revolves around its value as a toll to ensure the cohesiveness of the community rather than with its improvement of the Christian soul. The city of Vienne was saved in this life, not the next, and faith placed in Christ persuaded the poorer people to stay in the city and the rich, shamed by their example, to return[126].

Caesarius, on the other hand, came from a monastic background, and was far more concerned to point out the role of the bishop as a spiritual shepherd of his flock:

> Thus we may continually devote ourselves to pious reading and be able to fulfil what our Lord advised blessed Peter when he said three times: "Feed my sheep." [John, 21.17.] Hence, bishops are said to be

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[123] *Ep.* 7.9.
[124] *Ep.* 6.12.
[125] Rapp, 2000, p.385; 387.
[126] *Ep.* 7.1.

> watchmen because they have been placed in a higher position, as if on the top of the citadel of the Church, and have been established on the altar, and so should be solicitous for the city and the field of God, that is, the entire Church, guarding not only the wide expanse of the gates, that is, by salutary preaching prohibiting serious sins, but also watching the rear doors and little rabbit-holes. [127]

Caesarius preferred to think of himself as preparing his congregation for the next life; his concern was with prevention of sins and with laying down the rules by which the ideal Christian community should function, a subject which will be returned to below. He thus appears to favour a bishop with spiritual rather than temporal qualifications for the job, but he is never explicit on the subject. He simply assumes that the bishop will play a spiritual role.

For Caesarius, the sanctity of a bishop and his clergy gave them the authority to rule the Christian urban community, hence his anger at those members of the clergy who did not behave as such:

> Perhaps, when we preach these truths, some people will get angry at us and say: The very ones who preach this fail to observe it: even priests do many such things. What is worse, this sometimes is true. There are priests who are accustomed to get drunk, corrupt just cases, and do not blush to quarrel. Such men do not know that they are not priests, but imposters. Therefore, let us, both clergy and laity, hasten to amend our lives. [128]

It is an indication of the tenuous hold on power of the Church and its officials if they were of a monastic rather than an elite background; they relied upon being "holier-than-thou". Without a claim to greater sanctity, their authority was lost. Sidonius, on the other hand, could rely upon centuries of ingrained authority. Such was his position that he could write to members of the curial class in the cities of Gaul, and especially in Clermont-Ferrand, give them instructions about their role within the city, and apparently expect to be obeyed[129]. His approach, however, is not to order, but to attempt to shame his addressee into action. Sidonius' letter to Syagrius and his comparison of him to Cincinnatus, hiding from his duties in the countryside, has already been discussed in Chapter 1, and need not be covered again[130]. With it might be set a letter to Pastor:

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[127] *Sermon*, 1.4.
[128] *Sermon*, 55.4.
[129] It should be recognised, of course, that not all of Sidonius' letters date from his period as bishop; while the majority are believed to date from this period, a very few do not (see Anderson's Introduction to his translation).
[130] *Ep.* 8.8.

> Your failure to be present at yesterday's debate in the city council [at Lyon] was considered by the better sort to be intentional. They suspected that you wished to avoid having the burden of the coming embassy placed upon your shoulders. [131]

This gives us a clue as to how the bishops came to dominate the cities of Gaul. At face value, it might appear either that they forced their way into civic affairs, or that, following the traditional line of argument on the end of the city, the "flight of the *curiales*" left a power vacuum which the bishops came to fill. The letters of Sidonius instead suggest a situation in which the activities of the *curia* continued, with a new level added to the political hierarchy above them, in the form of the bishop. The important question, then, is how the bishop could expect to control the activities of the *curia* to any great extent. His power, after all, was only rarely formal or legal[132]. In part, the answer lies in the discussion above: the bishop relied upon social habit as the curial class continued to bow to the provincial aristocracy, or upon his Christian holiness, or both. Certainly, as Van Dam has pointed out, holiness equated to power[133]. Through this, the bishop could dominate at least those in the city who were good Christians; as Brown has pointed out, he became the centre of a web of patron-client relationships, pulled into city government by the sheer number of people who considered him their patron because he had a duty to intercede for them with both God, and civil and imperial authorities[134].

Brown, however, asserts that this large scale patron-client relationship was due to the bishop's role in providing for the poor and dispossessed of Roman society[135]. His argument is that Christian concepts of the poor differed from those of the classical world in that they actually included in the giving of gifts of food those who genuinely needed charity rather than just members of the urban citizen body, who treated the gifts as a badge of their citizen status. The result of this was that the bishop, as the man responsible for the co-ordination of alms-giving and charity, thus became the patron of a large segment of the urban community, and thus could claim and expect authority over them[136]. These close, but informal, ties placed the bishop at the centre

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[131] *Ep.* 5.20.
[132] Constantine granted bishops the power to judge court cases, but only if either party in the suit wished to be tried in an episcopal court. Decisions made under such conditions were binding, and had to be enforced by the civil authorities (*Theodosian Code*, 1.27.1). This gave a bishop formal power within the administrative structure of the city, but only in cases in which his intervention was requested: the power of the bishop in the legal sphere was not automatically invoked.
[133] Van Dam, 1985, p.194.
[134] Brown, 2002, ch.2.
[135] Brown, 2002.
[136] Brown, 2002, chs.1 and 2.

of urban affairs. Certainly, there are Gallic examples of charity being arranged by bishops for the benefit of the poor. Sidonius Apollinaris congratulated Patiens, bishop of Lyons, for instance, on his decision to relieve famine throughout the Rhône valley by releasing grain from his personal granaries[137]. Caesarius of Arles was also hugely concerned with the poor; a good proportion of his sermons – at least fifteen of the first eighty – are dominated by the need for the rich to give tithes and alms, and this need makes incidental appearances in a number of other sermons[138]. These, however, are not really primarily concerned with the poor themselves; the poor appear not in person, but as a distant concern, whose real importance is as a way of allowing the rich to enter heaven:

> The worldly rich have an abundance of wealth in this life, Christ's poor abound in eternal life in heaven. Therefore, the rich should spend their money in this world so that they receive eternal life in heaven. The worldly rich copiously store up grain, wine, olive oil in their granary or cellar; Christ's poor, by praying, watching, and fasting, put aside spiritual treasures in heaven. Consequently, the rich men of this world should make the servants of God partakers of their earthly wealth, in order that they themselves may become co-heirs in the heavenly treasure. [139]

Thus, while Caesarius doubtless brought the poor closer to him, as did Patiens, through the re-distribution of alms, he also made the rich his clients, in a reversal of the traditional process. By giving to the Church, they did not put Caesarius in their debt; instead, they were placed even further into Caesarius' debt, for only through him and his control of Christian charity, could they hope to enter heaven. The bishop was not only intercessor with the divine in a general way for the rich: he was, very specifically, the gate through which they might escape hell, tainted as they were by worldly wealth. This was far more significant to the bishop than his relationship with the poor. They might indeed be grateful, but it was the support of the rich and influential which allowed the bishop to dominate civic affairs.

Once he wielded power within the urban community, the bishop had three key roles; to guide his flock in spiritual matters; to play a judicial role; and to represent his city in temporal matters. The three together seem to have made the bishop the most important single figure within the fourth and fifth century urban community. Caesarius' desire to do the first, and Sidonius' apparent lack of concern for such matters, have been discussed above; that Sidonius saw spiritual leadership as of less

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[137] *Ep.* 6.12; Harries, 1992a, p.90-91.
[138] On almsgiving and the rich, see Salzman, 2000, p.356.
[139] *Sermon*, 27.3. See also, for example, 27.1; 25.2 ("God allowed poor people to be in the world in order that every man might have the means of redeeming his sins."); 22.2.

significance than temporal leadership may indicate that this was the least important of the three roles. Indeed, as the fourth century example of Paulinus, bishop of Trier, may indicate, too great an involvement in theological matters could lose a city its bishop; Paulinus was exiled for his outspoken support of Athanasius of Alexandria in the Arian controversy[140]. The role of temporal representative is included by Sidonius in his praise of Simplicius as bishop-elect of Bourges; he had already represented the city with "skin-clad kings and purple-robed emperors"[141]. It is also idealised by Constantius of Lyons, in his *Life* of St. Germanus, who not only travelled to Britain to defend Catholic orthodoxy from Pelagian heresy and even defeated the Saxons who threatened his hosts, but also interceded for the city with both the prefect at Arles and the emperor's ministers at Ravenna[142]. It is, perhaps, in his judicial role, however, that the bishop had the greatest impact upon the urban community, and this will be discussed in the next section.

Defining the Christian Community

Brown has argued that, in two ways, the presence of a strong Christian faith in Late Antiquity changed the definition of the urban community. Firstly, whereas traditionally the community was comprised of its citizens, the concern of Christianity with the truly poor and, more importantly, perhaps, dispossessed, and its practice of giving them the alms which, in the form of the *annona*, had marked out the citizen, whether rich or poor, brought everyone within the conceptual ambit of the city. Under the Christian bishops, the community gave to all, rather than just to those who legally belonged within the community. Secondly, by drawing upon the Old Testament to justify judicial rulings, the bishops introduced civic concepts from the pre-classical, Near Eastern urban communities in which it had been written into the (post)classical cities of Late Antique Rome[143].

Certainly, Christian notions of charity were far more inclusive than traditional forms of formal or informal civic giving. The Christian church provided a middle

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[140] Wightman, 1970, p.227. See also Chapter 5, below.
[141] *Ep.* 7.9; Harries, 1992a, p.94.
[142] *Life of St. Germanus*, 14; 17-18; 23-4; 38-40. See also, Harries, 1992, p.93-4. See also Brown, 2002, p.57-8, on the role which the bishop might play in petitioning the imperial authorities to relieve poverty and famine.
[143] Brown, 2002, chs. 1and 2.

ground between these two forms. While the insistence that rich Christians should give a proportion of their income in a tithe to the church and the poor never became a legal requirement, it was, as discussed in the section above, presented as the only means by which the rich might enter heaven; an extremely effective pressure to apply to the good Christian[144]. The process brought the poor within the civic community, forcing it to recognise, for the first time, that non-citizens existed. This recognition was only informal, however; not being enshrined in law, it relied upon powerful and influential churchmen to continue. Thus, definitions of the urban community in the widest sense came to rely upon personal power. Only through the personal exhortations of Caesarius did the non-citizen poor come to belong to the city; only through their personal tie to the bishop did the very poorest people of Arles actually exist. Concepts of city and community, therefore, came to be far more transient, since the Church's notion of charity was never recognised by Roman law in the same way that citizenship was. A different bishop with different concerns – Sidonius, perhaps, who never expresses such a concern for the poor or for charitable giving – might not bring the poor within the community, and therefore the concept of the community might differ.

In cities in which bishops were as concerned with the poor as Caesarius, not only did giving alms bring the poor within the bounds of the civic community, it changed the relationship of the elite with their city. Their spending was being channelled away from traditional *euergetism*; they were still expected to spend on behalf of their city, but that spending was used to promote the collective aim of the Church, with the bishop sitting at the top, as the direct beneficiary of Christian spending on the city. If the Christian status of the city of the city was improved through a new cathedral, to promote a martyr or attract more pilgrims, it was the bishop, through his association with the improvement, who benefited. Individual elite families were no longer able to compete with each other within the city, since their spending was controlled by the upper echelons of the local Christian hierarchy. The construction of the oratory at Metz was a statement of the power of the Christian church in that city, and only one individual could be associated with that; the bishop. His presence as effective controller of the city's spending served to limit the

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[144] On the proportion of their income which the rich should give to the Church and to the poor, see Caesarius, 10.1 and 14.3: "Above all, give tithes of all your profits to the church for the clergy and the poor; from the nine tenths which remains in your possession, give alms."

traditional competition within the city's elite; they were still expected to spend money, but under the umbrella of the church rather than on their own behalf[145].

Ideas of right and wrong also began to change under the influence of the biblically inspired bishops of fifth century Gaul, and thus the laws which governed the community also began to change. Again, it should be emphasised that the concepts of right and wrong, of proper and improper ways to behave, ordered by the bishops had no legal standing, and thus, as with changing definitions of the community itself, relied upon the personal authority of the bishop and the willingness of his community to obey him. In many ways, the bishop had to rely upon threats to convince his community, as Van Dam has argued in the case of the late sixth century Gregory of Tours[146]. Caesarius, the chief example of a Gallic bishop concerned with the definition and regulation of his community, can clearly be seen as a precursor to Gregory in this way. The ideal member of a Christian community should give alms to the church and to the poor, as discussed above; if he fails in this, he will not go to heaven[147]. The good Christian goes to Church regularly, arrives on time, and does not talk during the service; if he fails in this, he is a sinner:

> Even if a man of this sort comes to church with but slight sins, he returns home with a greater one. In the very place where he might have secured a remedy for himself and others by chanting and prayer he has taken pains to injure himself by idle conversation. [148]

Again, submission to these rules which surrounded the liturgy, itself the key ritual which defined the Christian community, is enforced by reference to notions of sin, and thus by implied reference to heaven, into which the sinner could not expect to enter. It is also interesting that the sinner is said to injure not only himself in this case, but other church-goers as well; Caesarius plays on the traditional unity of the urban community, both by inducing guilt that a man might injure his fellow citizens, and implying that the community should, out of self-interest, deal with those who do not conform to the community's rules. The good Christian will also not take part in pagan practices; those who do can expect to be punished immediately. For example, those who bathe in fountains, marches or rivers at night on the festival of St. John the

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[145] On the bishop as controller of the revenue and spending of the Christian Church, see St. Hilary of Arles *Life of St. Honoratus*, 6.28, and Cameron, 1993a, p.7.
[146] Van Dam, 1985, p.264-9.
[147] For example, *Sermon* 22.2; 25.2; 27.1; 27.3; 33.3: "if a man wishes to obtain a reward and to merit the forgiveness of his sins, he should be eager to pay tithes and to give alms...".

[148] *Sermon* 72.1.

Baptist may expect to drown[149]. Lastly, the good Christian will avoid greed, lust, adultery, and drunkenness[150].

Whereas Gregory introduced far more obvious punishments for sin – Ursulf, for example, was blinded when he infringed community convention and worked on the first day of Lent – Caesarius relied upon the threat of punishment in the next life[151]. This in itself was new to the urban community. Roman religion had little concept of an afterlife, and certainly lacked the idea that good or bad behaviour in the communities of this life might lead to reward or punishment in the next; this was a concept found in Judaism, and thus, as Peter Brown points out, brought the concepts of community of the ancient Near East into the Late Antique world[152]. The point of reference, defining right and wrong, was a higher power than the Roman governor or emperor, and capable of inflicting more terrible punishments; the *mores* which were coming to dominate the urban communities of fifth century Gaul were religious, depending upon belief and conscience to be effective, rather than upon a law enacted by Man.

Conclusion

In the course of the fourth and fifth centuries, then, we can see the movement of the administration of the city away from the classical model, and towards a model based around Christian rule by a bishop. The buildings representing both the wealth of the elite and their involvement in the city, and the operation of the *curia*, gradually fell into decline, especially in Britain. In their place, as the next chapter will demonstrate, sprang up churches and cathedrals, demonstrating not only the primacy of Christianity as an urban faith, but the channelling of elite spending into a collective purse, controlled by the bishop.

At the same time, therefore, the relationship of the elite with their cities was changing. The letters of Sidonius demonstrate that the involvement of the curial class was still necessary for the city to run smoothly, but at the same time the presence of the bishop, ideally a man of elite class, meant that the elite could no longer wield the

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[149] *Sermon* 33.4.
[150] See, for example, *Sermon* 41-47.
[151] Van Dam, 1985, p.264-5.
[152] Brown, 2001, p.68-73.

same level of power within the city. They were being tied, through their Christian faith, to the bishop upon whose wisdom they relied for eternal salvation. Informally, reliant upon Christian belief and his place as intercessor with the divine, the bishop was placed at the centre of the urban community, and thus in a position to direct its further operation, if he so chose. The archaeological evidence for elite rejection of the city found in the Metz region may be a reaction to this: not a pagan backlash against Christianity, but a resentment of the narrowing of the upper end of the urban administrative hierarchy to a single figure, and the insistence of the bishop that a rich man should allow his spending to be controlled by the Church.

The question must be whether, if the cities of Cirencester and Verulamium are argued to be no longer administered according to the classical model because too few elite families were involved, control of the city can be accounted classical administration. Simply, it cannot; Christianity forced this aspect of the city's role in society to evolve. Granted, the British city might also be said to evolve, but if this is the case then it must be accounted an evolutionary dead end, for the city did not survive the narrowing of the elite class in a classical or any other sense. The presence of Christianity in Gaul allowed the city, instead, to become something else, to evolve in terms of how the city was administered, and what the urban community meant. The absence of Christianity in Britain must, at least in part account for its disappearance. Without the presence of a powerful to bishop to mould the community, to give it new meaning, and most of all to give it leadership in the troubled times of the fourth and fifth centuries, the city disintegrated. The end of the city in Britain, along this line of argument, can be explained in terms of a conscious decision by the majority of the elite that the city no longer had relevance to their lives; that it no longer had relevance is because, in the absence both of imperial governorship and a powerful bishop, it lacked leadership.

Chapter 4: Religion and the City

Paganism in the classical sense is a blanket term, covering a huge range of religious beliefs and actions, ranging from the state religions which offered worship to key gods such as Jupiter Best and Greatest and the deified Emperor, to the household gods of the ordinary Roman. To be Roman was to be religious; citizenship, especially in the provinces during the early Empire when only the minority were Roman citizens, was affirmed by participation in the celebrations of cults of a specifically Roman type[1]. Worship of the Emperor in particular was one unifying factor in the huge territory which comprised the Roman Empire; at certain days, at certain times, everyone, whether in Britain, Italy, or Asia Minor, performed the same rituals[2]. As MacMullen has pointed out, however, traditional Roman religion had no single centre, spokesman, director, or even definition[3]. Perhaps this was inevitable; Roman religion absorbed local religion and adopted and adapted it as part of the process of assimilation of a territory into the Roman Empire[4]. The result was that few cults were exclusive; participants in Roman religion were free to follow the practices of as few or as many cults as they chose, provided that they still took part in the major celebrations of the year.

Into this world came Christianity. From the very first, Christianity was a religion of the city. Its adherents, exemplified by St. Paul, travelled from city to city in the east of the Empire, leaving fledgling Christian communities in their wake[5]. These grew and became gradually more significant entities within the urban communities of especially the eastern half of the Roman Empire. By the third century, members of the elite had begun to join the faith, with the result that the Christian church became gradually richer and its bishops, based in cities together with their congregations, more influential figures. In 312 the Emperor Constantine declared himself a Christian; in 313 he issued the Edict of Milan jointly with his co-emperor in the East, Licinius, making Christianity legal and beginning the patronage of the Church by the Imperial family. Paganism was increasingly legislated against; in 356, for example, Constantius prohibited all sacrifices and ordered the closure of pagan

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[1] Beard, North, and Price, 1998, p.215.
[2] Beard, North, and Price, 1998, p.318. On the imperial cult, see Wardman, 1986.
[3] MacMullen, 1997, p.32.
[4] For a more detailed account of this complex process, see Woolf, 1998, ch.8.
[5] Chadwick, ch.1, 1993.

temples[6]. Only the brief reign of Julian the Apostate, from 360-363, interrupted this process: Christianity was once again discouraged and paganism promoted. His successors, however, were Christians, and Christianity continued to grow and flourish in the cities of the Roman Empire. In 391 an edict was issued in the names of Valentinian II, Theodosius I, and Arcadius, effectively prohibiting paganism:

> No person shall pollute himself with sacrificial animals; no person shall slaughter an innocent victim; no person shall approach the shrines, shall wander through the temples, or revere the images formed by mortal labour, lest he become guilty by divine and human laws...[7]

At least in theory, this century of development should have changed the cities of the Roman Empire. Paganism was a defining factor of enormous significance both physically, in its monuments, and conceptually, in the mindset of its citizens, for the classical city; the promotion of Christianity and discouragement and eventual prohibition of pagan practices might be expected to change the appearance and nature of the city.

Paganism

Discussion of the process by which Christianity became the dominant religion of the city should begin with paganism, as the "incumbent" faith (or faiths). The problem, as always when discussing paganism in Britain and northern Gaul, is that we have no literary evidence produced by pagans themselves. When paganism is discussed, we are seeing it through the eyes of Christians, and it is thus a Christian construction. Fortunately, to set against this deficiency, we have the material record.

Neither Cirencester nor Metz has produced remains of pagan temples: in the case of Metz, this is hardly surprising, since the monumental heart of the city is largely unknown. Indeed, as has been seen in Chapter 3, the site of the forum, heart of the city, itself, can only be reconstructed through guesswork. At Cirencester, however, the forum and basilica have been well excavated in recent years[8], so that the absence of any city centre temples can be asserted with certainty. At face value, this is surprising, since one might expect a city to contain temples at its very heart. Even at

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[6] Bloch, 1963, p.194. This was, not however, enforced (Garnsey, 1984, p.20).
[7] *Cod Theod.* 16.10.10.
[8] Holbrook, 1998.

Trier, however, the pagan temple complex, the Altbachtal, lay on the periphery of the city rather than in its centre, and we must assume that this was also the case at Cirencester[9]. Without any evidence, however, it is impossible to examine the state and development of paganism in either Metz or Cirencester. The only monument which may allow the historian to draw any sort of conclusion is the Jupiter column from Cirencester, already discussed in another context in Chapter 4[10]. As was argued there, the monument might support the argument that Cirencester underwent some form of promotion either in the reign of Diocletian or at some point during the course of the fourth century. In the context of pagan religion it is interesting for what it can tell us about the identity of the city of Cirencester. At a time, the second half of the fourth century, when the cities of Gaul were beginning to represent themselves as Christian cities through their choice of monuments (see below), Cirencester was using a visually obvious column, displayed in a prominent position, to declare its status. This status, then, through the choice of monument, was couching that status in traditional pagan terms. The city was being watched over, literally and symbolically, by the figure of Jupiter rather than by a Christian saint.

The situation is, however, complicated by two factors; the date of the monument and the question of how long it survived. As has already been discussed in Chapter 4, the inscription on the column would date its re-erection to the years 360-3. That this date matches that of the reign of the pagan emperor Julian the Apostate can hardly be coincidence, and thus this monument may be evidence not of Cirencester's pagan identity, but of its desire to please the distant emperor. Cirencester, as will be discussed below, has produced very little evidence of Christian activity, so it is difficult to see any counter feeling which may have resisted the erection of the Jupiter column, or, indeed, to which the Jupiter column may itself have been a reaction. The argument is further complicated by the absence of other pagan remains with which the column may be compared. In short, the column as a religious monument stands alone; it is impossible to place it in a context, whether that context be dying paganism, growing Christianisation of the city, or simple maintenance of the traditional, classical, civic status quo. It is, sadly, impossible to state with authority whether or not the column was designed to reassert Cirencester's pagan identity, or whether the

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[9] In the north west provinces, in any case, prime temple sites were typically rural, rather than in the city centre, according to MacMullen (1981, p.18). This does not prevent surprise, however, at a complete lack of temples within the city walls.
[10] On the Jupiter column, see Wacher, 1974, p.86; p.304.

monument was part of a pagan resurgence in the city under Julian. The length of survival of the column might help, since survival after 363, together with the absence of Christian monuments, would imply that Cirencester was generally a pagan city in the fourth century. Sadly, however, the column was discovered in 1891, and archaeological techniques of the time rarely took account of stratigraphy: the result is that it is now impossible to say how long the Jupiter Column remained standing. In any case, it must be remembered that constructing a generalised picture of the state paganism in Cirencester from a single monument is a flawed approach. While being able to date the column with more precision would be useful, one monument could never tell us all that we might wish to know about paganism in fourth century Cirencester. Alone, however, it presents a picture of a city in which paganism was dominant.

We can be more definite about paganism in fourth century Verulamium. Two temples survive; the triangular temple in the south east quarter of the city, believed by Branigan to have been dedicated to Cybele, patroness of cities, and the temple connected with the theatre[11] in the city centre[12] (see figure 2). Both were remodelled as part of Verulamium's revitalisation in the early fourth century. The triangular temple was given new floors in the courtyard and corridors, and three new pedestals were added[13]. On a grander scale, befitting its place in the city centre at the heart of public life, and thus in a position far more obvious to visitors from other cities, the temple adjacent to the theatre also received attention. As the theatre was rebuilt with a larger seating capacity and a redesigned south wing, so the temple received new colonnades both within and without the existing courtyard wall, and substantial annexes were added[14]. In the early fourth century, then, Verulamium was rebuilding, reflecting an influx of new money. Significantly, that rebuilding was along very traditional lines, demonstrating new wealth in the construction of the traditional monuments of the pagan, classical city. Verulamium's success was couched in pagan terms.

This is not to say, however, that both temples should be treated in the same terms. Their positioning within the city is substantially different, and their

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[11] The two sit side-by-side, and it is to be expected that the theatre played a role in pagan festivals and was thus connected to the temple. MacMullen, 1981, p.18-20.
[12] On the triangular temple, see Wheeler, 1936, p.29; Branigan, 1973, p.116-7. On the theatre temple, see Wheeler, 1936, p.31; Branigan, 1973, p.116-7.
[13] Branigan, 1973, p.116.
[14] Branigan, 1973, p.116.

development may thus reflect different trends. Whereas the temple theatre stood in the city centre, the triangular temple was positioned in the south eastern quarter of Verulamium. It also produced evidence of far greater coin loss: of 196 fourth century coins found by Sir Mortimer Wheeler in the southern part of Verulamium, 67, nearly one third, were discovered within the triangular temple[15], and presumably reflect donations. This may be evidence of the wealth of the triangular temple's patrons; just as likely, however, is the possibility that the number of coins lost here reflects the fact that in its last incarnation the temple was not cleaned and fell into decay. The coins simply remained among the rubble. At face value, this might appear part of the pattern of decay seen in the south-eastern quarter of the city in the fourth century.

Dislocation of the fortunes of this temple from those of the housing surrounding it is, however, important, since they differed drastically in the course of the fourth century. As has been seen in Chapter 2, the south eastern quarter of Verulamium underwent gradual decline as the fourth century wore on. In contrast, the triangular temple continued to flourish until the end of the century[16]. The continued upkeep of both temples is interesting, since while most of Verulamium's rich housing was collapsing, someone somewhere in the city, somehow, was finding enough money to maintain the temples. Even while the theatre itself was abandoned at some point around 380, becoming apparently a dump for debris from the forum, the temple itself continued to be maintained, and even underwent some rebuilding in the period after 380[17]. Clearly, the forum[18] and temples, as distinct from the theatre, were targets for continued spending even as the city entered its last decades. That the temples ranked alongside the forum indicates that they were considered of great significance to the city: crucially, the city was still being figured in pagan terms, and thus given a pagan identity. Were this not the case, the temples would surely have gone the way of the theatre.

The only other site at Verulamium which should be considered is the recently discovered Folly Lane site, about five hundred metres to the north east of the city walls along the Colchester road. This developed from an early burial site of some ceremonial significance to become an important temple complex. It was, however,

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[15] Wheeler, 1936, p.29.
[16] Branigan, 1973, p.130.
[17] Branigan, 1973, p.134-5. On the temple rebuilding, see Wheeler, 1936, p.31. The fate of the theatre itself is discussed in Chapter 3.
[18] Discussed in Chapter 3.

levelled and the site reused for agricultural purposes in the early fourth century[19]. Quite why is a mystery, since it appears to have flourished up to the time of its destruction. Niblett has suggested that Christian activity may have prompted this destruction, but given the very early date of the destruction – almost certainly prior to Constantine's conversion – this seems unlikely[20]. In the case of the destruction of Trier's Altbachtal (see below), Christian sentiment may have been at work, but this occurred far later, and in a city with a far more obvious Christian presence; the Folly Lane site is hardly a comparable case. Its destruction would appear to be a conscious decision to change the function of the site, rather than a gradual loss of interest leading to decline and decay, but beyond this it is impossible to draw any conclusions.

In Britain, then, money was still regularly spent upon pagan monuments in the fourth century. This indicates two things; that money, when available to the community, was spent upon communal building projects, and that those building projects were traditional pagan monuments. Thus, the community throughout the fourth century continued to function as it always had, presenting a traditional pagan face to the world. This is significant. As the sections below will argue, at the same period in Gaul paganism was waning and Christianity was coming to the fore, developing to the point at which the cities would present a new, Christian identity to the Empire.

The pattern of pagan development in fourth century Trier thus differed as the century developed. At Trier, all bar one of the city's Late Antique pagan temples were located in the area, on the south eastern margins of the city, known as the Altbachtal. The one exception to this, the temple known as 'Am Herrenbrunnchen' lay around two hundred metres to the east, just within the city walls. In the Altbachtal were situated the temples and sanctuaries of Trier's major cults, together with a theatre, doubtless used, as in the case of the theatre of Verulamium, for sacred performances. It is needless to itemise all the temples and cults whose remains have been found in this area in this context; it is enough to point out that while native cults sat alongside both Roman and oriental ones, with the less Romanised deities predominating, it was the eastern mystery cults which appear to have been most popular in Late Antique Trier[21]. These appear to have begun to take root in the third century, and it is in this

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[19] Niblett, 1999, p.417-8.
[20] NIblett, 1999, p.418.
[21] Wightman, 1970, p.208-19.

century that a Mithraeum was first built in the Altbachtal[22]. It consisted of a single room in the large building which was built over the theatre in the second century, suggesting that this building had other uses beside the overtly religious[23]. In this context, the debate over the nature of the building is perhaps unimportant: what is significant is that the sanctuary continued in use at least until the middle of the fourth century[24]. This was not a religion of the masses: thus, important people in Trier, be they merchants or imperial officials, continued to follow a pagan cult despite the presence of the imperial family and the efforts of Constantine and his sons to promote Christianity in the imperial court[25]. Important people preferred to think of themselves as pagans, and specifically as followers of Mithras, but the temple itself cannot be said to have made a huge impact upon the city in the way that a temple to Jupiter or Sol, for example, might[26]. It was not visible to the casual viewer, and its very exclusivity meant that few people might even be aware of its presence: thus it can have made only a negligible impact upon either the mental or physical topography of the city and the majority of its inhabitants.

The same must be true of the mosaic discovered in the Kornmarkt. Since it is part of the decoration of a room, however, it might be said to be purely decorative in nature; a picture with apparent religious significance need not be interpreted as more than decoration. It is impossible to tell now how it was viewed, and whether its owner(s) imbued it with the same religious significance as modern scholars. It contains two principal scenes. The first shows the hatching of the egg containing Castor, Pollux, and Helen. The egg itself lies upon an altar, above which hovers an eagle, which should presumably be identified as Zeus in avian form. At right angles this is a scene seemingly depicting part of a ritual: one man is handing a dead bird to another man, while a third kneels, holding up a bowl containing an egg. Surrounding both scenes are panels depicting dancing girls and men carrying platters of food: all are named. For Wightman, this is the meeting place of a pagan cult: the egg symbolises either birth or rebirth[27]. Certainly, if this is some kind of religious meeting place, it must be that of an exclusive cult: meeting in a single room precludes anything else. That this, like the Mithraeum, must indicate pagan activity at a high

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[22] Wightman, 1970, p.218.
[23] For a discussion of the possible uses of the site, see Wightman, 1970, p.218.
[24] Wightman, 1970, p.238.
[25] Cameron, 1993a, p.57.
[26] On Mithras, see Clauss, 2000.
[27] Heinen, 1985, p.359-61; Wightman, 1970, p.239-40.

level in Treveran society seems, however, doubtful. Decoration alone seems poor evidence for religious activity: a mosaic, however unusual, need only be a picture.

In the case of the Altbachtal (see figure 3), it is possible to see a Christian reaction against paganism. The coin record from the area indicates that the area was finally destroyed under Gratian, having been used right up to that period[28]. The swiftness of the Altbachtal's end must mean that it was destroyed: this was no lingering decline as the temples, and thus pagan cult itself, gradually fell out of use. In addition, the number of coins from the area would suggest that the Treverans continued to both offer donations and lose coins in the area in large quantities: the area was well frequented right up until its end. That the end came swiftly is also indicated by the presence of damaged statues in the area. The cult statue of a bull, for example, was left beheaded, and, outside the city, a marble torso of Venus was placed near the church of St. Matthias – the fifth century St. Eucherius, renamed in the twelfth century on the translation of relics of the Apostle Matthew – as a target for the stones of passers-by[29]. That such statues, relics of paganism, were left standing, defaced for all to see, is significant. The pagan past was not being removed and buried; that it had been conquered was being actively displayed. Christianity had come, and had conquered; the pagan gods had been able to do nothing to protect their temples, and were thus powerless.

The destruction of the Altbachtal extended beyond the defacing of statues. It was largely levelled, and a road was built over part of it. In addition, some of the temples left standing were converted into houses[30]. Where paganism had been, now was only another domesticated part of the city. Wholesale destruction had wiped the sanctuaries of the pagan gods away, removing this key area of the classical city. It is interesting that no attempt was made to convert any of the temples into churches, imposing the buildings of Christianity directly over the buildings of the pagan past, the church directly replacing the temple to wipe away all traces of paganism. Male, for example, has argued that "There is scarcely a province where vestiges of temples have not been found under old churches." [31] In the case of Trier, where a concerted attempt was made to remove the pagan sanctuaries, one might expect to find evidence

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[28] Wightman, 1970, p.238; 1985, 284-5.
[29] Wightman, 1970, p.229-30.
[30] Wightman, 1970, p.229.
[31] Mâle, 1950. See also Young, 2001, p.173-5, for a critique of the approach. Young argues that there simply is not sufficient evidence, at least in Gaul, to support Mâle's assertion.

supporting Mâle's hypothesis. There is none. Partly, of course, Trier already had a double cathedral within the walls, but this alone is not sufficient to explain the treatment of the Altbachtal: this was a city in which the bishop had the ear of a frequent imperial presence, and thus a city in which the church had great influence. As will be discussed below, the presence of an early fourth century intra-mural church of any size, let alone one of the scale of Trier's double cathedral, is highly unusual in the Western Roman Empire. Trier was seemingly a city in which the Church could achieve its desires. Instead, therefore, the fate of the Altbachtal must be seen as a deliberate choice on the part of the Church. It chose, rather than place another prestigious building within the city walls, to wipe away the significance of the Altbachtal in a religious context, and make it merely a residential area. This has resonance in wider Late Antique thinking on the relationship between paganism and Christianity, and particularly continuity between the two. Bishops appear to have worried about their congregation confusing paganism and Christianity, and melding the two. Augustine, for example, was deeply concerned about Christian festivals being treated in the same way as pagan celebrations:

> Lest, however, any slight should seem to be put by us upon those who, before our time, either tolerated or did not dare to put down such manifest excesses of an undisciplined multitude, I explained to them the circumstances out of which this custom seems to have necessarily risen in the Church – namely, that when, in the peace which came after such numerous and violent persecutions, crowds of heathen who wished to assume the Christian religion were kept back because, having been accustomed to celebrate the feasts connected with their worship of idols in revelling and drunkenness, they could not easily refrain from pleasures so hurtful but so habitual... [32]

The desire to abandon the Altbachtal as a site of religious significance must be seen in this light. Rather than allow pagans to confuse the two, the Church in Trier chose to draw a line between Christianity and paganism, separating them physically so that they were separated in the minds of the populace.

That the Church was, however, compelled to work alongside paganism until the reign of Gratian is interesting. Obviously, a Christian imperial presence in the city gave the bishop sufficient influence to maintain a city centre cathedral site, but paganism was permitted to continue to maintain a site of similar prestige, and greater size and antiquity. This must imply the presence in Trier of powerful pagans, who, while the bishop held one imperial ear, could speak into the other. As Wightman points out, it took an emperor with a far harder attitude towards paganism than his

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[32] Augustine, *Ep.* 39.9-11; *Ep.* 91.8. See also MacMullen, 1997, p.6.

predecessors to destroy the Altbachtal[33]. Her alternative suggestion, that the destruction may be attributed to a spontaneous action by the Christian populace, does not hold water, given the obvious power and influence of some at least of Trier's pagans. Were it the case that a Christian mob destroyed the Altbachtal without official sanction, we might expect to see evidence of rebuilding rather than the conversion of the area into a residential zone. Additionally, given the size of the Altbachtal – approximately 250m x 300m – major destruction by a mob would have taken a huge number of people and some time, and both seem extremely unlikely. Thus, it may be the case that at Trier, the emperors hastened the rise of Christianity and the decline of paganism. The popularity of the Altbachtal suggests that paganism continued to be favoured among much of the Treveran population until the final quarter of the fourth century. The destruction of the Altbachtal, of course, should not be taken as an end to pagan beliefs in Trier, merely that those who followed pagan cult had been deprived of the major focal point for their observances. The disappearance of the site, however, removed pagan cult from the physical topography of the city, and its replacement by housing suggests an attempt to remove it from the population's mental topography. Destroying the site not only took away the focus for the city's pagan worship, it also removed a key point in pagan processions, at the very least weakening their impact upon the population of the city as a whole. The bishops and the emperors in the later fourth century were removing the most obvious signs of the city's pagan identity.

Christian attitudes to paganism

Fifth century Gallic hagiography, of course, records the destruction of pagan monuments and shrines by Gallic saints, and thus at face value does provide evidence of attacks on pagan property without official sanction. Crucially, however, there is a difference between an attack on a single monument and an entire sacred precinct. In addition, hagiography hardly qualifies as an uncomplicated source of "hard historical fact"[34]. Saints' Lives were not written as truthful accounts, but rather have many similarities with the great Roman tradition of *exempla* writing. They are ideals

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[33] Wightman, 1970, p.229.

[34] See, as an example of this approach, Jones, 1963, p.19. He claims the *Life* of St. Martin, rather simplistically, as evidence for the continued flourishing of rural temples and festivals in late fourth century Gaul.

presented as models for the perfect Christian way of life. A saint's destruction of a pagan monument is not evidence for the actions of that saint, or even directly for the existence of paganism, but rather an exhortation to the good Christian to reject pagan practices. Thus, of course, indirectly, hagiography can reveal a Christian concern that paganism still offers temptation for the Christian, and it is in this approach, in the revelation of the concerns of Christian writers, that hagiography has value[35].

Hagiographical presentation of paganism is interesting, but it must be reiterated that this is a Christian presentation of paganism, produced for Christian ends. To an extent, these stories require the presence of a non-Christian "other", against which the saint can be constructed[36]. The pattern is reasonably similar in several of the Gallic *Vitae*, whether we examine Sulpicius Severus' *Life* of St. Martin, St. Hilary of Arles' *Sermon on the Life of St. Honoratus*, or Constantius of Lyons' *Life* of St. Germanus of Auxerre[37]. All three used the power of God to destroy pagan shrines and cast out demons, and, in addition, the activities of all three, particularly in their dealings with paganism, revolved around the city[38]. The role of the holy man as a Christian civic leader has already been discussed in Chapter 3, but in this context it is interesting to note that St. Martin's *Life*, the earliest of the three, never places him within the city but always outside, in opposition to the city. The city is never a fully Christian community in the orthodox, non-heretical, sense, but is instead either pagan or Arian[39]. For all that, however, the pagan shrines destroyed by St. Martin are all rural, in common with the two later *Lives*; even while all three saints preferred to live apart from the city, they were constructed as a part of the civic community while the pagan shrines were not. The saint always leaves the city to confront paganism; a line is thus drawn between urban Christianity and rural paganism by fifth century Gallic Christian writers.

At face value, the difficulty with the argument that hagiography draws a clear line between urban Christianity and rural paganism is that St. Martin is depicted as

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[35] See Van Dam, 1985, for a more detailed analysis of the uses of hagiography. Even this, however, while an extremely useful analysis of Gallic hagiography, still tends towards the positivistic. In contrast, see Wightman, 1970, p.228-9 for a far less critical approach which entirely fails to consider the problems of using hagiography as a mine of historical "fact".

[36] Taking the Late Antique hagiographical tradition as a whole, this "other" need not be specifically pagan. For Gregory of Tours, for example, writing at the end of the sixth century, Arianism, in other words non-orthodox Christianity, was one threat against which his saintly "heroes" were constructed.

[37] Written in, respectively, c.400, c.430, and c.480.

[38] See, for example, *Life of St. Martin*, 11-15; *Life of St. Germanus*, 7-8.

[39] *Life of St. Martin*, 6.

dispelling demons from the people of Trier; thus, pagan superstition is given a place within the urban community[40]. Sulpicius Severus draws a clear link between the pagan gods and the Christian devil, by claiming that Satan uses the faces of, for example, Jupiter, Mercury, Venus, and Mars[41]. Pagan gods, then, rather than being simply dismissed as mere superstition, become a part of Christian discourse, reflecting the level of threat to fifth century Christianity which paganism was felt to hold. Rather than ignored, paganism had to be associated with evil, as a way of drawing Christians away from it. Through St. Martin's actions in ridding the city of demons, then, it would appear that the city might be a place of paganism rather than of Christianity, and therefore that no clear distinction can be drawn between urban Christianity and rural paganism. This, however, is to ignore St. Martin's actions. He represents the Christian conversion of the city in action: faced with a pagan city, he makes it Christian by expelling its demons. Under his care, the city moves from pagan community to Christian community. This explanation also deals with St. Martin's insistence upon residing outside the city: the city needs his attention in order to become a fit place for a holy man to reside.

The pattern is repeated in Constantius of Lyons' *Life* of St. Germanus. He, too, resided in a monastery just beyond the city walls; in his case, however, this was in rotation with residence in the city: "to set the goal of perfection before each"[42]. The city, then, for Constantius in the late fifth century, was a fully Christian community, and, in his role as its protector, St. Germanus expelled the demons responsible for illness from his flock[43]. Paganism, or at least the threat of the non-Christian, is thus, as in the case of St. Martin, forced beyond the city walls, and into the countryside. Interestingly, St. Honoratus, whose *Life* sits chronologically between that of St. Martin and St. Germanus, rejected urban life in the period before he became a bishop and entered the city as bishop. He chose instead to subdue the terrors of the wilderness: by implication, the countryside, away from the city, had become a test of a saint's holiness[44].

There is a strand of scholarship which tends to believe that such miracles must have taken place. Such scholars either offer explanation for the miracles, or ignore the

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[40] *Life of St. Martin*, 17.
[41] *Life of St. Martin*, 22.
[42] *Life of St. Germanus*, 9.
[43] *Life of St. Germanus*, 8.
[44] *Life of St. Honoratus*, 3.15. The reader is also reminded, doubtless deliberately, of Christ's forty days and nights in the wilderness (*Matthew* 4.1-11).

question of whether the miracles actually took place altogether, on the basis, presumably, that such questions cannot ever be answered satisfactorily[45]. Whether such miracle stories are true or not, however, scarcely matters: even if they happened, the majority of people could only experience them through the stories told by the hagiographers. The miracle was nearly always experienced second hand, through the medium of the written or spoken word. Thus the story, rather than direct experience of the miracle, became the tool for conversion of either non-Christian pagans, or Christian heretics. Paganism is both the bugbear to be avoided and the excuse for a display of God's power. The two together are intended to inspire the Christian and the non-Christian to better things, and in the form of a literary work reached a far greater audience, over a longer period of time, than any actual miraculous destruction of a pagan shrine could ever have done.

Paganism is also to be found in the *Sermons* of Caesarius of Arles. His concerns mirror those of St. Augustine, a century or so earlier in North Africa, and of other Late Antique churchmen, and in them we see the difficulty, for us and for Late Antique men and women, of separating social habit and religion in paganism[46]. Festivals were as much a part of the social calendar as an expression of religious belief; thus, the Saturnalia, while in honour of Saturn, and therefore pagan, was also an occasion for fun. The dividing line between the two is far from clear[47]. Sometimes the message is straightforward, that people still follow pagan practices in preference to Christian, and that this is foolish. Here, Caesarius chooses ridicule to attack pagan practices, and those who follow them:

> ... one who restrains men from observing omens, wearing phylacteries, or consulting magicians and seers is known to bear testimony to Christ when he speaks against these temptations of the Devil.
>
> Besides, dearly beloved, the temptation of our Adversary is not slight when foolish men think that days and months, the sun and the moon, should be worshipped. What is worse, so true is what we are talking about that not only in other places but in this very city there are said to be some unfortunate women who refuse to spin or weave on Thursday in honour of Jove. In such people baptism is violated and the sacraments of Christ suffer injury.
>
> How is it that foolish men think they should, as it were, help the moon in its eclipse? When its shining orb is covered at times by a natural condition of the air or is suffused with the nearby heat of the setting sun, they think that there is some conflict of incantations against heaven. This they imagine they can overcome by the sound of a trumpet or the ridiculous tinkling of bells... [48]

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[45] See, for example Van Dam, 1985, who prefers the latter course.
[46] MacMullen, 1997, p.40-1 on the continuity of pagan practices. See also Augustine, *Ep.*91.8: "at the June 1st festival, the impious ceremony of the pagans was celebrated without hindrance from anyone... an aggressive crowd of dancers in this precinct passed directly in front of the church doors." (Quoted by MacMullen, 1997, p.41.)
[47] Brown, 1997, p.46; MacMullen, 1997, p.40-1.
[48] *Sermon* 52.1-3.

It is unclear, however, whether Caesarius' targets are pagans themselves, or those of his congregation who might be tempted to return to paganism. The second appears more likely, in that he could scarcely expect pagans themselves to listen to his sermons. This said, however, he does praise those who speak against pagan practices: his hope, perhaps, at 52.1, is that he may inspire his congregation to attack paganism on a daily basis. That this is the case implies that Caesarius saw paganism, even at the beginning of the sixth century, as present to a sufficient extent to warrant his attention, not as a target for direct conversion, but as a threat to the Christianity of his congregation.

It is interesting that conversion of pagans does not appear to be high on Caesarius' agenda. He appears more concerned with consolidation of his position, in other words with holding his congregation to their Christian beliefs, than he does with expanding his congregation. Were it not for his apparent concern with paganism as a threat to his congregation, one would be tempted to argue that there were few, if any pagans left for him to convert. The obvious explanation lies in the nature of the paganism which he criticises: he is more interested in incidentals, the consultation of soothsayers[49] or the wearing of magic charms[50] – the things which tarnish Christian belief without denying it – than with the observation of festivals and sacrifices. For example, *Sermon* 51 attacks the use of "evil practices" in conceiving children:

> Some men and women, dearly beloved, when they see that they have no children in their married life, often become too sad. To make matters worse, they often are prevailed upon to believe that they can have children like the sap of trees, not from God but from some kind of impious drug.
>
> ... those to whom God is unwilling to give children should not try to have them by means of herbs or magic signs or evil charms. It is becoming and proper for Christians especially not to seem to fight against the dispensation of Christ by cruel, wicked boldness. [51]

The target is defaulting Christians, not pagans themselves, as in the case of *Sermons* 33, 53 and 54. The sins described range from the pagan practice of bathing in rivers and marshes at night (in this case during the festival of St. John the Baptist); worshipping idols and praying to fountains; and consultation of sorcerers, seers, and soothsayers[52]. In the case of the first, there is certainly a degree of construction of sin for rhetorical effect; on the one hand, there is nothing inherently pagan in swimming

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[49] *Sermon* 54.1, and 70.1 (based upon St. Augustine).
[50] *Sermon* 51.4.
[51] *Sermon* 51.1,4.
[52] *Sermon* 33.4; 53.1; 54.1.

in rivers; on the other, that people should bathe in a pagan way at the Christian festival of St. John the Baptist, and thus risk drowning as punishment for their sin, is altogether too convenient. The sermon should not be taken to imply that Christians took full part in pagan observances, but rather that the festival of St. John's nativity was the excuse for a homily attacking involvement in far less serious practices – perhaps consultation of soothsayers – with the seriousness of the offences exaggerated for rhetorical effect. The same must be true in the case of *Sermon* 53. Here, as with the hagiographical works discussed above, an attack on paganism becomes an entertaining, inspiring, drama:

> Be careful lest those desperate, wicked men overwhelm you, and lest after Christ's sacraments you return to the poison of the Devil. Rather, rebuke whomever you recognise as such, admonish them quite harshly, chide them quite severely. If they are not corrected, strike them if you can; if they are not corrected thus, pull their hair. If they still continue, tie them with bonds of iron, so that a chain may hold those whom Christ's grace does not hold. Then, do not permit them to restore the shrine, but endeavour to tear to pieces and destroy them wherever they are. Cut the impious wood down to the roots, break up the altars of the Devil. [53]

This need not be seen as a direct exhortation to destroy pagan shrines and chide defaulting Christians found at the shrines, and thus indirectly as evidence for rural pagan practice concerning an urban bishop; instead, this sermon was designed to inspire the congregation to be better Christians, in the manner of the great nineteenth century hymns *Onward, Christian Soldiers*, or Bunyan's *To be a Pilgrim*. Only in the fourth example, *Sermon* 54, is there perhaps some suggestion of concern with the continuity of pagan practice within the Christian community. Here, as in *Sermon* 51's concern with the use of charms or potions to aid conception, there is a hint of the extent to which certain pagan practices and superstitions were a simple part of everyday life for many Christians, just as festivals such as Saturnalia were; a habit far more than a religious observance[54].

The picture produced by the literature, then, is not of a flourishing paganism, but of pagan practices surviving throughout the fifth century, and causing concern to the Church. At the lowest level, the consultation of soothsayers, or the use of magical potions to cure such problems as infertility, had become a simple part of everyday life. The false impression of a flourishing paganism is aided by the fact that, frequently, paganism was constructed by Christian writers as a counterpoint to

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[53] *Sermon* 53.2.
[54] On the continuity of pagan festivals, and the problems this caused the early Church, see MacMullen, 1997, p.40-41.

Christian behaviour: the good Christian fights against paganism, while the poor Christian gives in. This demonstrates that paganism was still a part of the Gallic mentality even at the end of the fifth century; while not flourishing, it was still a bogeyman, a bugbear, to frighten not children but adult Christians. Increasingly, paganism was commensurate with Satan; pagan gods were masks behind which Satan might hide, while pagan practices were the Devil's traps for the unwary[55]. Christian discourse preached against paganism, but it also needed it to some extent. Good and bad Christian behaviour was far more easily demonstrated with the aid of paganism. Paganism thus most obviously survived into the fifth century in Gaul as a Christian tool.

Christianity in Britain[56]

While Christians may have been present in the cities of Gaul and Britain from the second and third centuries A.D., the first concrete signs of their presence are to be found in fourth century churches and inscriptions. For earlier periods, only later stories exist, and these must be seen as Christian foundation myths, designed to claim pre-eminence for certain cities, or at least to establish legitimacy for the Christian Church by placing its roots deep in the past, and thus deep in a city's history[57]. These comments, of course, only apply to the cities of Gaul: in Britain, few if any cities have any Late Antique Christian identity.

The exception to this, of course, is Verulamium, which is given a Christian identity by Constantius of Lyons in his *Life* of St. Germanus. According to Constantius, St. Germanus visited Britain, and specifically the shrine of St. Alban, associated by Gildas with Verulamium, in the mid-fifth century, his aim being to stamp out the Pelagian heresy. In the city which Germanus visited, which is never named, a prominent place was given to a shrine of St. Alban, and thus Verulamium is associated, through Gildas, with two saints in the fifth century, Germanus and

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[55] *Life of St. Martin*, p.37; Caesarius, *Sermon* 52.2, 53.1, 54.5.
[56] The most comprehensive and best study of the topic of Christianity in Britain is Thomas, 1981. To this can now be added the somewhat shorter, but still extremely useful, Sharpe, 2002. Dark, 1994, p.36-9 and 64-8 provides a review of other attempts to approach the subject.
[57] See, for example, the claims of Metz, recorded by Paul the Deacon in the eighth century (*Lib.Ep.Mett.*:261), for the presence of a bishop in the third century (quoted in Halsall, 1995, p.219), or the arrangement of Tours' history around the central figure of St. Martin by Gregory of Tours in his *History of the Franks*.

Alban[58]. Our only native British evidence for the association of Verulamium and St Alban comes from the sixth century, and it is only here that the association between Germanus and Verulamium is made, through the association of St. Alban and the city[59]. Written in probably the middle of the sixth century in Britain, Gildas' *Ruin of Britain* places the martyrdom of St. Alban at some point in the third century at Verulamium[60]:

> Alban, for charity's sake, and in imitation even here of Christ, who laid down his life for his sheep, protected a confessor from his persecutors when he was on the point of arrest. Hiding him in his house and then changing clothes with him, he gladly exposed himself to danger and pursuit in the other's habit. Between the time of his holy confession and the taking of his blood, and in the presence of wicked men who displayed the Roman standards to the most horrid effect, the pleasure that God took in him showed itself: by a miracle he was marked out by wonderful signs. Thanks to his fervent prayer, he opened up an unknown route across the channel of the great river Thames – a route resembling the untrodden way made dry for the Israelites, when the ark of the testament stood for a while on gravel in the midstream of Jordan. Accompanied by a thousand men, he crossed dry-shod, while the river eddies stayed themselves on either side like precipitous mountains. In this way he changed from wolf to lamb his first executioner, when he saw such a wonder, and made him too thirst strongly for the triumphal palm of martyrdom and bravely receive it.[61]

This, sadly, tells us very little directly about St. Alban's relationship with Verulamium before the sixth century[62]. Certainly, it provides a place and approximate date for his martyrdom, but the entire tale is so heavily mythologised, both to make St. Alban the ideal Christian and to transform him into a latter-day Moses, that nothing at all of this tale can be considered trustworthy. What, however, this does tell us is that in the sixth century Verulamium, or whatever remained of the city, was promoting both its own martyr and, by implication, its Christian past, just as the cities of Gaul were doing. This need not mean that a Christian past was any more than a sixth century fabrication, along the lines of Ambrose of Milan's "discovery" of two entirely unknown martyrs in Gervasius and Protasius to give his city added prestige, and indeed, were this the only evidence for the association of Verulamium and St.

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[58] *Life of St. Germanus*, 14-18. On Pelagianism, see Chadwick, 1993, p.227-31.
[59] This is reliant upon the assumption that Verulamium and Verulam are one and the same place; the two names are so similar that the assumption seems reasonable (10.2). It is worth emphasising that only through Gildas' association of St. Alban and Verulamium is Germanus placed in Verulamium: Germanus' biographer does not mention Verulamium by name.
[60] The dating is reliant upon the very vague comment that Alban's death lead to an accord between Church and State which lasted until the coming of Arianism to Britain, presumably in the fourth century (12.1-3).
[61] *The Ruin of Britain*, 11.1.
[62] On St. Alban, and the problems of drawing any conclusions about him from the available evidence, see Thomas, 1981, p.48-50.

Alban, no conclusion could be drawn about that association before the sixth century[63]. We do, however, have Constantius' account of Germanus's visit to Britain.

Constantius was not an eye-witness to Germanus' visit to Britain; there is, indeed, no reason to believe that this hagiographical tale must contain very much historical truth at all, beyond the fact that Germanus presumably did visit Britain. The details of the story suggest far more about the appearance of Gallic cities than they do about British cities, so that the presence of the shrine to St. Alban can only indicate the importance of such shrines in Gaul. Just as St. Honoratus is sent by his biographer into the wilderness to prove his holiness, so St. Germanus is sent to Britain, a province no longer a part of the Empire; both represent a challenge, the wilderness in its very wildness, and Britain in its heretical nature. This said, for the tale of the visit to Verulamium to hold water and for the picture of Germanus to be thus authentic and inspiring, there must have been some association of Verulamium and St. Alban current in the fifth century. The two pieces of evidence together suggest that Verulamium was pushing a Christian identity, with roots in the city's history, in the fifth century. Whether it did so in the fourth century is impossible to say.

Archaeologically, no shrine to St. Alban has been found. Indeed, Late Antique buildings which can certainly be claimed to be churches are rare in Britain. Three British bishops are listed as having attended the Council of Arles in 314; the identity of their sees is not known, although Wacher has speculated that they may have been based in three of London, York, Lincoln, and perhaps Cirencester, on the basis that these may have become provincial capitals under Diocletian's reorganisation of the provinces, and that provincial capitals might be expected to have provided metropolitan bishops for such a council[64]. Perhaps the best candidate for a Christian church is, however, to be found at Silchester, in a small, apsidal, aisled building with an east-west orientation, just to the south east of the forum. Despite, its shape – essentially a scaled-down version of the great Constantinian basilicas – there is nothing, however, to make such an identification certain[65]. In any case, as will be seen below, even in Gaul, where Christianity was far more obviously prevalent, the only fourth century intra-mural Christian building is Trier's great double cathedral. Of the

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[63] On Gervasius and Protasius, see Clark, 2001.
[64] Wacher, 1974, p.84-5; Esmonde Cleary, 1989, p.121. On the problems of equating a city's administrative and Christian position, see Harries 1978 and 1992a.
[65] Esmonde Cleary, 1989, p.124.

cities suggested by Wacher as providing bishops for the Council of Arles, only Lincoln has any building which may be identified as a church[66].

While Cirencester has produced nothing which may be, even tenuously, identified as a fourth or fifth century church, Branigan suggests two buildings at Verulamium as possible churches. The first was found just within the city walls in the southern quarter of the city, and consisted of a sixteen feet wide nave with two flanking aisles; the nave was extended at either end by rectangular annexes[67]. Given the extent to which the site had been disturbed in later periods, and the consequent loss of both floors and dating material, however, there is no way of placing this building within the fourth or fifth centuries. Since this is the case, it is very difficult to make any kind of case that this building should be regarded as a church, and, indeed, drawing upon Gallic parallels, the positioning of the building does tend to mitigate against it being identified as a church. Indeed, in plan it is somewhat reminiscent of the *Horrea*, the fourth century warehouse at Trier, albeit on a smaller scale. This, too, lay within the city walls but on the outskirts of the city, in this case to the north-west[68]. The second building, however, is far more convincing as a church. Somewhat bigger than the first building, at thirty four feet wide and at least fifty feet long, it took the form of a single nave, with an apse projecting from the north-west end. It lay not far outside the London Gate, close to one of the city's cemeteries, and, despite being both partially destroyed and badly disturbed, it can be dated to the fourth century. In addition, it had a tiled floor and a red tessellated floor, things which would, as Branigan points out, would suggest something other than an industrial or agricultural function[69]. The positioning, close to a cemetery beyond the city, would match Gallic patterns of fourth century building of extra-mural churches; the only problem is the alignment of the building. Rather than lying on an east-west axis, it is aligned roughly north-west – south-east, with the apse at the north-west end. If the apse was to be seen as the rear of the church, however, the problem is not insurmountable; the front of the building is not that far from an eastern alignment. In this case, the building might be regarded as possibly, but by no means certainly, a church. In addition, on the basis of the tradition associating St. Alban and Verulamium, Niblett has suggested that a

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[66] Pers. Comm. On churches in Roman Britain, see Thomas, 1981, chs.6 and 7. Dark, 1984, p.64-8 presents a picture of a network of churches in Late Roman Britain, but his evidence and approach are both open to question.
[67] Branigan, 1973, p.132; Thomas, 1981, p.169-70.
[68] Wightman, 1970, p.117-8.
[69] Branigan, 1973, p.130.

shrine to St. Alban, presumably associated with his burial place, should lie beneath the Norman cathedral of St. Alban: excavations beneath the cloisters discovered the edges of a Late Roman cemetery, and a church here would match the Gallic pattern[70]. This is, however, to assume that the Norman cathedral must represent continuity of the site from early Christian shrine into the mediaeval period, and there is, at present, no evidence from the site to support such an assumption. In addition, such a line of argument represents the worst kind of text-driven classical archaeology: rather than judge the site on its own merits, Niblett has adopted a face-value reading of textual evidence to give the archaeological evidence an unwelcome and unsupportable interpretation[71].

No building at Cirencester has ever been claimed as a church, but there may be one possible candidate. The amphitheatre contains traces in its latest phases of an extensive cobbled area, together with large post holes, which would suggest the presence of a large timbered building[72]. On the basis of the grass-tempered pottery found on the site, Wacher dated this development to some point in the fifth century[73]. The site is most usually interpreted as some form of defensive structure, but this depends on a very dated perception of Roman Britain, in which the Saxons are seen as destroying the remains of Roman civilisation[74]. There is, of course, no reason to date the coming of the Saxons before the later fifth century, and, indeed, no good reason to see their presence as anything on the scale of an invasion[75]. This being the case, it seems unlikely that fifth century Cirencester needed a defensible refuge; even if there were threats to what remained of the population of which we know nothing, and the amphitheatre became a refuge, the presence of a building within the walls does seem strange. Thus another description of the building in the amphitheatre must be sought, and, drawing upon Metz as a model (see below), a city in which a church was built within the amphitheatre, a church might be one possibility. This said, however, the cobbled floor and timber construction of the building would suggest that a church is

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[70] Niblett, 1999, p.417.
[71] On the problems of supposed primacy of the written word, and the resultant development of archaeology, see Moreland, 2001, chapter 1.
[72] Wacher, 1974, p.313-4; Wacher, 1976, p.18.
[73] Wacher, 1976, p.18. Fifth century dating on Romano-British sites, given that the coinage sequence ends in the very early fifth century, is extremely difficult: even pottery sequences are hard to construct, given that the construction of these is usually dependant upon an initial coinage sequence to date the pottery types.
[74] See Loseby, 2000, for an overview and critique of what Reece (1989, p.234) has labelled the "invasion and displacement" model.
[75] Jones, 1996, chapters 1 and 2.

an unlikely explanation; a barn, as suggested in Chapter 3, is a more realistic interpretation.

This is not to say that Cirencester is entirely without evidence of Christian activity. In 1868, an acrostic was found, scratched into wall plaster, and reading:

ROTAS
OPERA
TENET
AREPO
SATOR

The letters may be arranged to form a cross made up of the word "Paternoster", the title of the Lord's Prayer in Latin. This, of course, leaves two As and two Os, the Latin equivalent of the Greek Alpha and Omega; the "beginning and the end" of St. John the Divine's *Revelation*[76]. Again, nineteenth century excavation has left us without a context for this graffito. If interpreted as above, it would suggest the presence of Christians in Cirencester, but we have neither a date for this, nor an idea of numbers. All that can be said is that at some point between, roughly, A.D. 100 and A.D. 400, a Christian scratched this palindrome into the wall-plaster of a house. This is not a public inscription.

Evidently, Christians were present in fourth century Britain, but their activities are invisible to us[77]. Few churches are known, and only sixth century stories give Verulamium a Christian past. The conclusion has to be that Christianity was neither widespread, nor powerful, in fourth century Britain. The bishops were not the powerful figures which they were in Gaul, which might explain the fifth century mission of St. Germanus to Britain; the Christian church, wherever it was located, was in need of leadership and guidance. In comparison, the pagan temples continued to be rebuilt until the very end of the fourth century, demonstrating continued support for paganism in Britain particularly among those who had and controlled money and could therefore pay for the maintenance and refurbishment of pagan monuments.

The presence of Christian churches in Britain is uncertain. In cases such as London, it might be said that churches lay in the unexplored areas, but Cirencester, Verulamium, Silchester, and Wroxeter, mere shadows of their Roman selves, have been far more carefully and fully excavated, so that there can be little doubt that no

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[76] Wacher, 1974, p.311.
[77] For a review of the available evidence for Christian activity in Britain, see Thomas, 1981, chs.2-7.

churches lay within the city centres, or that large ones were built beyond the walls. Christianity existed on a far smaller scale in Britain, although, as Esmonde Cleary has pointed out, to trust Sulpicius Severus accounts of the poverty of British bishops and thus assume the poverty of the British Church is to place entirely too much weight upon a presentation of the ideal of holy poverty[78]. Nevertheless, Christianity in Gaul is a far more obvious presence in the material record, and it seems a fair assumption that this is due not to the vagaries of archaeological survival, but reflects a more obvious place in Late Gallo-Roman society.

Christianity in Gaul: the cities

The pattern throughout Gaul was one of fourth century extra-mural shrines and churches associated, through the supposed burial places of martyrs or bishops with cemeteries. This was followed, usually in the fifth century, by the construction of a cathedral within the city walls[79]. Metz, as will be seen below, follows this pattern, but Trier does not. During the first part of the fourth century, Trier received a double cathedral. It lay, not in the city centre, but in the north east of the urban area, and thus well within the city walls, and, in its final stages, covered four *insulae* and measured one hundred metres by two hundred. Its dating is imprecise, but work seems to have begun during the reign of Constantine. The south church is probably the earlier of the two, and coinage from the foundations of the north church dates initial building work to after 326[80]. The cathedral as a whole seems to have been completed by the middle of the fourth century[81]. At a time when most Gallic cities were only just beginning to build churches – as opposed to archaeologically largely invisible shrines in private houses - in more marginal areas, Trier was constructing a cathedral within its city centre.

At first sight, the positioning of Trier's cathedral is, to an extent, marginal: it lay on the very edges of the built-up area, well away from the civic centre complex of forum, baths, and market. These were the things which, in most cities, would attract

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[78] Esmonde Cleary, 1989, p.121.
[79] Février, 1980, p.399-494; Harries, 1992, p.85-89; Liebeschuetz, 2001, p.82-88 (esp. figs. 13 and 14); Loseby, 1996, p.45-70; Young, 2001, p.169-186.
[80] Wightman, 1985, p.290.
[81] Wightman, 1970, p.231; p.110-1.

most visitors, and thus the cathedral was placed well away from the most frequented area of the city. While, for pagans, this removed the cathedral from their daily lives, for Christian residents of and visitors to Trier, the city centre was divided, creating a tension between centuries of civic habit and religious loyalties. This might be explained by the difficulties of finding land on which to build within the city centre: building a cathedral of that size would have necessitated destruction of one of four areas: the forum, the market, or one of the two baths complexes. The destruction of any, with the possible exception of the Kaiserthermen which was never completed, would have been unthinkable. The alternative would have been the levelling of four *insulae* of housing, which would surely have been just as unpopular. The site actually used, however, appears to have been a palace of some magnificence before its destruction in the period immediately after 326[82]. It is usually claimed that the palace belonged to the imperial family, which maintained a presence in Trier, as has been seen, for much of the fourth century; the one fully excavated room provided sufficient fragments of wall plaster for its decoration to be reasonably accurately reconstructed. Portraits of three women have been found; none can be given names, but from their rich ornamentation, and particularly from the fact that they are wearing diadems and the youngest a purple tunic, it is usually assumed that they are members of the imperial house, or at least personification of members[83]. This seems a reasonable assumption, and, this being the case, it seems unlikely that any family except the imperial one would have had pictures of the imperial women on their walls. There is also the question of how the Treveran church came by the land on which the cathedral was built in the first place; while individual Treveran citizens were, in some cases, undoubtedly extremely wealthy, only the imperial family could have been in a position to donate four entire *insulae* to the Christian church. The two factors together must demonstrate that the cathedral was built over the imperial palace, and this might explain the positioning of the cathedral.

Closer examination, however, suggests that the situation of the Treveran double cathedral was not as marginal as one might at first suppose, and thus that its positioning was more than an accident occasioned by the availability of land on which to build. The cathedral lies right beside the key road north to Cologne and the northern frontier of the Empire, with its garrisons. Casual visitors and more local

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[82] Wightman, 1970, p.109.
[83] Cüppers, 1984d, p.161-2. Wightman, 1970, p.110.

people, together with imperial dignitaries, soldiers and officers, whether travelling to or from the north, all passed the cathedral, and were thus all made aware of the presence, and, implied by the size and magnificence of the cathedral, power of the Christian faith. In addition, many might never have visited the forum or baths in the city centre, or only came there as a second thought: the cathedral lay close to the building conventionally known as the Basilika, which, as was demonstrated in Chapter 4, is most convincingly interpreted as the imperial audience chamber. Important dignitaries, messengers, and soldiers might be expected to have attended the emperor or his representative there, in full sight of the cathedral. Given the nature of Trier as an imperial capital, much of Trier's business must have revolved around the north east of the city, rather than its centre, and thus the cathedral was in an ideal position to advertise the presence and power of Christianity.

Doubtless, the site of Treveran cathedral owed much to the desire of the imperial family to advertise, in the early fourth century, their newly found Christian faith. To extrapolate from the key position of the cathedral that Christianity had any real power in the first half of the fourth century would be a mistake. The cathedral reflects not the power of the church and the influence of the bishop, but the propaganda on behalf of Christianity, and the efforts to improve its standing, made by Constantine and his immediate successors[84]. The presence of an imperial family willing to make this kind of donation to the church, however, must as a consequence have placed the bishops of Trier from this period onward in a powerful position. That we know so little of them reflects partly their lack of intellectual stature when compared to a politician of the force of Ambrose of Milan, a letter writer as prolific as Sidonius Apollinaris, or a theologian of the stature of Hilary of Poitiers or St. Augustine, and partly their lack of an issue to fight. Ambrose could debate with Symmachus over the Altar of Victory in Rome, while Hilary of Poitiers became deeply concerned with the Arian heresy; through their involvement in these major debates their names and writings have survived to the present. Accordingly, it is noticeable that of the bishops of the fourth and fifth century we know most about Maximinus and Paulinus. Maximinus was a staunch supporter of Athanasius of Alexandria against Arianism, and Paulinus, his successor as bishop, followed this

[84] Barnes, 1981 and 1982; Cameron, 1993a, chapters 4 and 5; Chadwick, 1993, chapters 8-10.

line, with the result that he was banished to Phrygia, where he died in 358[85]. As a result, both have entered ecclesiastical history, albeit on a lesser scale than other bishops geographically closer to the centre of the conflict in the east. The few other bishops who stand out do so only on a local, Treveran level, through their advertisement of and support for Christian cult, and their activities will be considered below.

It is unknown who was responsible for the cult of which evidence is found in Trier's cathedral, together with the presumed translation of relics to the cathedral. Indeed, very little is known about the cult itself, since the name of no saint has survived to be associated with the remaining evidence for its existence. Around 340, a great square *piscina* was constructed in the building linking the two churches which made up the double cathedral. Wightman has suggested that this building may have been a baptistery, purely on the grounds that a baptistery might be expected to be associated with a cathedral[86]. The water basin, were it to be interpreted as a font, as seems reasonable, would provide evidence for such a function for the building. At the same time as this was done, the east end of the larger, northern, church, was redesigned: a feature was added, around twelve metres across, circular within and polygonal (with twelve sides) without. Its roof was supported on porphyry columns, and around it was a square chancel with four huge columns in the centre to support a clerestory[87]. One is reminded of the mediaeval sanctuary behind the altar in Durham cathedral, which held the relics of St. Cuthbert. The arrangement at Trier must have had similar significance; the polygonal feature is situated in the holiest place within the church, at the very east end, behind the altar, and through the use of series of columns and the final wall of the feature varying degrees of sanctity are available. While nothing remains of relics or casket, this feature must have been constructed to hold the remains of something very holy. This impression is reinforced by the graffiti which survives from the walls around the feature. Twenty-eight are known; ten of fourth century date, and eighteen dated to between the fourth and fifth centuries. Presumably, many more have been lost in the intervening centuries. None record the name of a saint; they usually consist of a name, surely that of the pilgrim or of someone dear to him in need of divine aid, followed by VIVAS IN DEO, or VIVAS

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[85] Handley, 2001, p.190; Heinen, 1985, p.334-5; Wightman, 1970, p.230-1.
[86] Wightman, 1970, p.111.
[87] Cüppers, 1984d, p.162-3. Wightman, 1970, p.111-2.

IN DOMINO. A few were in Greek (*RICG 1*, nos. 235a, 236i)[88]. Something lay within the polygonal feature which made Trier a place of Christian pilgrimage, and which thus gave it status within the Christian world: that some of the inscriptions were in Greek may suggest that pilgrims came some distance to Trier, although, equally, they may simply imply the presence of Greek speakers in the Treveran population.

What the feature was built to house, beyond its obvious identity as something deeply holy, is unclear. That no saint's name is included in the graffiti may suggest one of two things; either that it was abundantly clear to all whose aid was being propitiated and thus there was no need to include a name, or that the relics were of such significance that a name was unnecessary. In the latter case, one might suggest the presence of a piece of the True Cross or something equally associated with Christ Himself. If this were the case, however, it seems unlikely that Gregory of Tours could have neglected to mention the presence of such a relic within Gaul[89]; thus, either the relics were of a much more minor personage, of importance only to Trier, or they were translated somewhere else at some point in the fifth century. Certainly, none of the surviving inscriptions is sixth century in date. Given Gregory's failure to mention the cult in the cathedral, translation of the relics, whether of Christ or of some other saint, during the course of the fifth century would seem likely. To where, or why, however, remains a mystery.

One other city centre site should be mentioned here; the church of St. Laurentius, which was constructed close to the apse of the Basilika. An inscription dates its construction to the reign of Valentinian III; in other words, to the period 437-55[90]. This suggests a concentration of Christian attention within one part of the walled area of Trier, and thus the construction of a Christian focus at a slight distance from the traditional civic centre, insofar as it was still functioning in the middle of the fifth century. Doubtless, this location was dictated by the presence of the cathedral in this area, although, as in the case of the oratory of Metz (see below), such fifth century building in the city centre marks a surge in the power of the church, that it could claim or buy land in such a prominent position. It must also have created a tension within Trier; the city continued to have dual foci as it had in the fourth century.

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[88] Handley, 2001, p.194; *RICG 1*, nos. 235a-j, 236a-n, 237a-d.
[89] Gregory spent time on miracles worked by the saints of Trier in general, and by Maximinus in particular. See, for example, *Vit.pat.*17.4;*Glor.conf.*91.
[90] Wightman, 1970, p.232.

What is presumed to be the cathedral at Metz fits the pattern of Gallic church building much more obviously. Lying beneath the modern cathedral, it was founded at some point in the first half of the fifth century, and as such provides the only evidence for monumental building in fifth century Metz[91]. We cannot be certain about precise dating any more than we can in the case of the Treveran cathedral; archaeology gives an approximate date but no more. What we do have for Metz, which was lacking for Trier, is some literary evidence. In the sixth century, as discussed in the Introduction, Gregory of Tours described the sack of Metz by the Huns in 451; according to Gregory, the only building left standing was the oratory of St. Stephen, who interceded with the Apostles Peter and Paul for its safety[92]. It is thus usual, since the oratory and the cathedral share the same dedicatee, and since there are no other intra-mural Christian buildings known at Metz, to assume that the oratory and the cathedral are one and the same[93]. This seems reasonable if the existence of a cathedral in the fifth century is accepted, but there are a number of problems with the assumption that Metz even had a cathedral. Firstly, Gregory doesn't mention a cathedral; the building saved is the oratory. Thus, either an oratory may also be a cathedral, or the cathedral was translated to the building at some point after 451. Halsall argues that a cathedral may also be termed an oratory; equally, as will be seen, there is a reasonably strong candidate at Metz for an extra-mural cathedral[94]. The second problem, however, is that it is an assumption that the Late Roman building lying beneath Metz's modern cathedral must be a cathedral itself. Simply relying upon a vague notion of continuity of function may be misleading, and this combines with the third problem, that Gregory of Tours was not a simple source of fact. His account of the Hunnic sack of Metz is far from straightforward, not least because there is no archaeological evidence of mid-fifth century destruction to support it. Gregory, rather than recording historical truth, appears, over a century later, to have produced a cautionary tale with the message that God will not protect, and in fact will punish, sinners; Metz is the example of this in action. While the Huns may have passed through the region, the details of Gregory's story are not to be trusted, and this includes the account of St. Stephen's oratory being saved. The intention of this part of the story is surely to

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[91] Halsall, 1995, p.228.
[92] *History of the Franks*, 2.6.
[93] Halsall, 1995, p.230-1; Wightman, 1985, p.291. The claims that St.-Pierre-aux-Nonnains should be considered as a church were discussed and rejected in Chapter 3.
[94] Halsall, 1995, p.231.

shock; as will be seen below, saints were regarded as divine protectors of the city. If even St. Stephen could not save Metz, then every sinner should beware.

For all this, however, Gregory's account is of more use to the historian of fifth century Metz than might be thought. His story is probably largely fabrication, but it was fabrication designed to have an effect upon the reader or listener. The moral of the story was pointless if the reader could dismiss the whole account as fabrication. Thus, the important details must have some basis in fact so that they could be recognisable to the reader and give the story authenticity. This must include the presence of an oratory of St. Stephen, not necessarily in the fifth century, but certainly in the sixth: it is the key geographical point around which the story revolves, and thus surely existed for Gregory's audience. The archaeology of sixth century Metz – a city hardly comprehensively excavated, admittedly – shows only the disputed building of St. Stephen certainly in existence, with the addition of a baptistery nearby[95]. The presence of the baptistery, of course, is itself an indication of the site's significance, and thus that it was more than a church. If the building dedicated to St. Stephen, then, was the oratory in the sixth century, as seems likely, it might also be expected to have been an oratory, or at least of some significance, in the fifth century, an idea supported by its prestigious intra-mural location. Whether, as Halsall suggests, an oratory could also be considered a cathedral is perhaps unimportant. The significant point is that in the first half of the fifth century, the Christian church established a key building in a prestigious position within Metz.

The position of the oratory in relation to most of the other public buildings of Metz cannot be established; indeed, we cannot even be certain that, with the exception of the building beneath the later church of St.-Pierre-aux-Nonnains, any of the monumental buildings of Metz were still in use in the fifth century. Even the site of the forum is unknown, although it has been suggested that it lay close to the site of the oratory[96]. The case for the location of the forum in this area is by no means certain; the one known building with secular significance is the basilica beneath St.-Pierre-aux-Nonnains; this predates the construction of the oratory (see Chapter 3). Metz's oratory, therefore, can be seen to have been built in deliberate juxtaposition to a building of importance to the secular life of the city. On the basis of the available evidence, the cathedral was constructed in deliberate opposition, and should thus be

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[95] Halsall, 1995, p.231-233.
[96] See chapter 3 for discussion of this.

interpreted as an attempt not to combine the religious and administrative foci of the city, but to separate them. In addition, it lay close to the Moselle; a route, as Ausonius provides a reminder, for travellers and merchants between the south of Gaul and at least as far as Trier. Just as Trier's cathedral provided a statement of the power and significance of Christianity, or at least the power and significance to which the Christian Church wished to lay claim, to those travelling in and out of Trier's north gate and those with business with the imperial family, so Metz's oratory did the same for those travelling to and even past Metz on the Moselle[97].

The city centre positioning is a mark of both the growing power of the Church, and perhaps the extent to which land for building was more readily available in city centres in the fifth century as compared to the fourth. Whereas the Church in early fourth century Trier was reliant upon a gift of land from the imperial family, rather than having the power to destroy, for example, one of the baths complexes, one hundred or so years later a derelict bath-complex could be built over by the Church in Metz. As has been argued, too much significance should not be placed on the apparently marginal position of the Treveran cathedral; in many ways, it was as centrally positioned as the oratory at Metz. At Metz a century later, however, the Church had become sufficiently rich, and sufficiently powerful in civic affairs – a different position to having the ear of an earnestly Christian emperor and his family – to either buy or commandeer a city centre site. Granted, the site was derelict, but this does not necessarily mean that the *curia*, since the site was more probably publicly owned than privately, would be happy to simply turn it over to the Church[98]. The Church had to be in a powerful civic position in order to use the site.

Christianity in Gaul: the suburbs

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[97] Transport by water was, of course, both quicker and cheaper than travel by road (Finley, 1985, p.126-8). The volume of travellers could be expected to be high, especially given the presence of the garrisons of the Rhine frontier and, within Trier itself, some form of post-imperial administration for the north.

[98] Robinson, 1994, p.114-5.

Metz, then, matches the pattern common throughout Gaul of fifth century Christian building within the city walls on a monumental scale. Trier does not. Both, however, matched the other pattern of Gallic church building: fourth and fifth century extra-mural construction a short distance from the city walls, often associated with the city's cemeteries (see figures 4 and 9-14). Such sites, however, are difficult to identify with certainty. The best sites are those in which excavation is fully carried out, but since so many Late Antique church sites lie below modern churches – an indication of the degree to which Christian sites experienced continuity not only of use but also of function from the Late Roman period right through the mediaeval to the modern – it is often the case that excavation is at best incomplete, and at worst has not been begun. Augmenting the material record are a variety of literary sources, dating from the sixth century well into the mediaeval period, which record traditions associating saints and bishops with burial in a range of known and unknown churches and shrines. Some of these are identified simply by their dedications: Maternus, third bishop of Trier, for example, was supposedly buried not far from his predecessors in a cemetery to the south of the city. A mediaeval chapel there is dedicated to him, and below it is a burial chamber[99]. Whether or not this marks the burial place of Maternus, and thus perhaps a focus for Late Roman devotions, or a mediaeval decision to effectively invent the resting place of the bishop in line with tradition, cannot be known, but this illustrates the difficulties in drawing conclusions about extra-mural church building.

To begin in this southern cemetery, tradition places the burial places of the first three bishops of Trier, Eucherius, Valerius, and Maternus, here in the late third or early fourth century[100]. The Late Roman buildings here are three: the mediaeval chapel overlying a burial vault discussed above; another two mediaeval chapels, of St. Quirinus and St. Quintinus, which lie over a previous building to which had been added an apsidal burial chamber; and, beneath the mediaeval church of St. Matthias, the foundations of a fifth century church on a larger scale than a tiny chapel or oratory[101]. Insufficient remains of the foundations survive to estimate size or layout properly, and what has been found might be evidence for a large building more-or-

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[99] Cüppers, 1984a, p.204; Wightman, 1970, p.230.
[100] Wightman, 1970, p.226. The fourth bishop of Trier, Agricius, is known to have attended the Council of Arles in 314; little is known of his three predecessors, but the date of 314 places them perhaps in the years either side of 300.
[101] Cüppers, 1984a, p.204-6; Wightman, 1985, p.292.

less matching the layout of St. Matthias, together with a further building to the south east, or for a much larger building than St. Matthias, in which case the second building might be interpreted as the remains of the southern transept. Forcing archaeological evidence to uncomfortably fit a pattern suggested by literary evidence is to be avoided at all costs, but in this case the material record might well match the history: that Cyrillus, bishop of Trier in the mid-fifth century, transferred the relics of Eucherius and Valerius, from their burial place in Trier's first cathedral, in this southern cemetery, to a new abbey church nearby[102]. The building beneath the chapels of St. Quirinus and St. Quintinus is both an unusual shape, and has a north-south alignment, unless the altar lay in one of the semi-circular extensions to the east. This need not, however, be impossible, it would merely give the building an appearance more in common with a traditional Roman basilica, albeit one with the expected third room missing. Certainly, an explanation should be sought; it is difficult to explain the presence of any building except a church in the midst of a Late Roman cemetery. This being the case, the building has a good claim to be considered Trier's first cathedral, and burial place of Eucherius[103]. The epigraphic record certainly marks this cemetery as the site of a great deal of activity by Bishop Cyrillus in the fifth century.

Inscriptions set up by him in this area reveal the otherwise unknown fourth and fifth century cult of Eucherius and his successor Valerius, which Cyrillus was evidently involved in promoting; one mentions Cyrillus' own burial under the altar of the church of Eucherius, while the other reads:

QUAM BENE CONCORDES DIVINA POTENTIA IUNGIT / MEMBRA SACERDOTUM QUAE ORNAT LOCUS ISTE DUORUM / EUCHARIUM LOQUITUR VALERIUMQUE SIMUL / SEDEM VICTURIS GAUDENS COMPENERE MEMBRIS / FRATRIBUS HOC SANCTIS PONENS ALTARE CYRILLUS / CORPORIS HOSPITIUM SANCTUS METATOR ADORNAT. [104]

Without the epigraphic record, this cult would be unknown for the fifth century; its first literary attestation can be found only in the mid sixth century[105]. What becomes clear is that in the fifth century, the bishops of Trier, and Cyrillus in particular, were very concerned to do three things. Firstly, they were marking the presence of

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[102] Wightman, 1970, p.230. Dating Cyrillus precisely is difficult, if not impossible. Heinen has suggested that he may be identified with Quirillus, successor to Severus, which would make him bishop in c.450 (Heinen, 1985, p.382).
[103] Wightman, 1970, p.230.
[104] Handley, 2001, p.196; *RICG 1*, no.19. There is, as Simon Loseby has pointed out to me, some debate over whether this is a single inscription, or two separate ones. Handley argues for the second proposition.
[105] Handley, 2001, p.198.

Christianity on a monumental scale; secondly, they were advertising the deep roots of Christianity in Trier's history, longevity inspiring legitimacy; and thirdly, they were effectively creating relics to rival those of other cities and attract pilgrims. Eucherius as an historical figure was one thing; Eucherius as first bishop and thus effectively founder of Christian Trier, his relics translated to a prestigious new building with doubtless great pomp and ceremony and therefore advertised as a focus for pilgrimage, was quite another[106]. The process implies either some insecurity in the Treveran church, or a sudden increase in its power and status, which it wished to advertise. Certainly, the pottery and coinage records stop in Trier around the middle of the fifth century, suggesting either a much smaller, poorer population, or even something close to a cessation of occupation of the city proper. Cyrillus' activities, then, might demonstrate a concern that the Treveran church, unless it worked far harder, might lose its congregation. The other obvious alternative is that, if the cathedral did in the course of the fifth century lose its relics, and thus a major focus for pilgrimage, Cyrillus was attempting to compensate for this loss by promoting the relics of Eucherius.

To the north of the city, the situation is even less clear. Certainly, by the sixth century, the cults of St. Maximinus and St. Paulinus, based around churches below which the saints were supposedly buried, were flourishing, and there were additional churches of St. Martin on the outskirts of the city, just beyond the wall; St. Marien, further north beside the river; and St. Viktor, across the bridge to the west. How many of these sites, however, can be dated back to the fifth, let alone the fourth, century is however, uncertain. St. Martin seems a good candidate for a fifth century church: lying close to the city walls rather than in one of the cemeteries, it was built over a suburban house[107]. Whether this indicates a private shrine on the site, which was then developed into a church, or whether the house was given to the Treveran Church and the land used as the site for a church is unclear; certainly, however, some association of the site with St. Martin might be expected in order to explain why the church was built here. No sign of an original burial was found, as is to be expected since St. Martin neither died nor was buried in Trier[108]. Nevertheless, Sulpicius Severus

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[106] On the translation of relics as comparable to an imperial *adventus*, see Clark, 1999, p.2; MacCormack, 1981, p.17-61.
[107] Wightman, 1970, p.232.
[108] Gregory of Tours records the death of St. Martin in the village of Candes. Gregory goes to great lengths to legitimise the claim of Tours to the relics of St. Martin, a figure he constructs as the chief

associated St. Martin and Trier, and the church may be seen as an attempt by the Treveran Church to build on this tradition, and thus advertise the sanctity of Trier. Fifth century burials accompany the church[109]. Thus, rather than a burial in a cemetery attracting Christian attention and building, the church of St. Martin seems to reverse the expected pattern: the site attracted burials, pulling the cemeteries of Trier closer to the walled area.

St. Paulin is usually presented as a fourth century church, but no Roman remains have been found beneath the mediaeval church. The only exception to this is the nineteenth century discovery of a cedar-wood coffin within a huge stone sarcophagus in the crypt of St. Paulin. The body which lay within it was wrapped in purple silk with patterns of circles and crosses, and gold silk woven with the same design[110]. This was obviously the burial of someone of some wealth and importance, and, additionally, of someone who was either Christian or who was buried by people who wished him or her to appear to be a Christian. Were it certain that this sarcophagus had lain within a church either on this site or another, then the likelihood that these were the remains of a Late Roman bishop, given that this would be burial *ad sanctos*, would be very strong. Since there are, however, no remains of any building of this kind, such conclusions are impossible to draw. Sixth century tradition does place the cult of St. Paulinus in this area; the bishop Nicetius wrote in c.550 to the abbot Florianus, and mentions "the blessed Maximinus and Paulinus", while the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, composed c.600, gives August 31st as the date of the festival of the *depositio* of Paulinus[111]. Clearly, there was a cult of St. Paulinus by 550, and by 600 his relics had been recovered from Phrygia; it is usually assumed that Bishop Felix translated the relics of Paulinus to Trier in the 380s[112]. There is, however, no contemporary evidence for this. The question is whether a cult of St. Paulinus could have functioned without his relics as a focal point: that one did is illustrated not only by Nicetius' sixth century letter, but also by the presence of

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saintly patron of Tours: "The men of Poitiers planned to carry off the body as soon as morning came, but Almighty God would not allow the town of Tours to be deprived of its patron. In the end all the men of Poitiers fell asleep in the middle of the night, and there was not one who remained on guard. When the men of Tours saw that all the Poitevins had fallen asleep, they took the mortal clay of that most holy body and some passed it out through the window while others stood outside to receive it. They placed it in a boat and all present rowed down the River Vienne." (*Hist.Franc.*, 1.48.)

[109] Wightman, 1970, p.232.

[110] Cüppers, 1984b, p.239-40; Wightman, 1970, p.231-2.

[111] Nicetius, *Ep.Aust.* 6; Handley, 2001, p.192.

[112] Wightman, 1970, p.231.

numerous fourth and fifth century epitaphs from the surrounding cemetery honouring St. Paulinus[113]. The cult, then, existed, with or without relics, but the presence of one surviving prestigious Late Roman burial apart, there is little evidence for the presence of a Late Roman church in the area beyond the expectation that there should have been one to provide a focus for the cult.

Much the same is true of the associated cult of St. Maximinus, which shared the same northern cemetery. Again, the church on the site dates to the mediaeval period, in this case the tenth century, but to the east of it lie Roman burial vaults, and slightly to the north are the remains of a large Roman building. Of the rooms uncovered, the main one had been decorated with gold mosaics and marble veneer, and had a hypocaust; clearly, this was a building of some wealth. Not enough survives, however, to identify this building as a church, despite the tradition which placed the burial place of St. Maximinus, and thus a church, in this cemetery[114]. Just within the apse of the tenth century crypt, however, lies a vault containing two Late Roman sarcophagi, with space for a third. On the basis of ninth century tradition which placed the remains of Maximinus between those of Agricius, fourth bishop of Trier, and the sixth century Nicetius, whose bones were later removed, Wightman suggests that these two sarcophagi should be identified as those of Agricius and Maximinus[115]. Given that no church has been discovered on the spot and that Gregory of Tours records a church of St. Maximinus in the sixth century, however, this identification seems unlikely[116]. Despite this, Gregory's assertion that a church should be found in this cemetery, together with the presence of fourth and fifth century tombstones recording the cult of St. Maximinus, do suggest that a church was to be found in this area, though perhaps not on the spot suggested by Wightman[117].

The pattern of extra-mural church building at Metz is similar, and analysis is plagued by the same problems of identification and dating. The earliest church is that found in the Great Amphitheatre; St.-Pierre-aux-Arènes. Exactly how early it is has provoked argument. The first bishop of Metz, Clemens, is at best a semi-legendary figure, and the story, recorded by Paul the Deacon in the eighth century, that Clemens arrived in Metz at some point probably in the late third century, and set up home and

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[113] Handley, 2001, p.196-8.
[114] Cüppers, 1984f-c, p.236-238; Wightman, 1970, p.230.
[115] Wightman, 1970, p.230-1. On the sarcophagi, see Cüppers, 1984e-f, p.234-6.
[116] Gregory of Tours, *Vit.pat.* 14.4.
[117] On the epigraphic record, see Handley, 2001, p.190-2; p.198.

an altar in the caverns of the amphitheatre, should be regarded as certainly an eighth century – although he may have been repeating earlier traditions with the same aim - attempt to give Metz a Christian past rather than as historical truth. Excavation in the amphitheatre in the early years of the twentieth century did suggest that, by c.300, the amphitheatre had fallen into disrepair, and that it was restored under Constantine. Oswald argued that the restoration indicates the presence of a church in the early fourth century[118]. Wightman, on the other hand, suggested that this was nothing more than a restoration, allowing the amphitheatre to continue its traditional function[119]. The evidence for either side, as Halsall says, is unconvincing[120]. Certainly, however, the next phase of occupation of the amphitheatre was as a church. The central cellar, which once housed the amphitheatre's machinery, was converted into an aisled building, and Argonne ware, dated to 350-80, was found in the amphitheatre: it is difficult to see how this came there if the function of the arena was still the staging of gladiatorial games. Its context, sadly, is uncertain, but it may well have come from the graves which the presence of fifth century tombstones suggests[121]. In addition to this, fifth century artefacts carry the Christian symbols of fish and anchor, suggesting that certainly by the fifth century the amphitheatre had become the site of a church and associated cemetery. Dating is uncertain, but even if the initial fourth century reconstruction of the site was not Christian, and this negative picture is by no means certain, Christian rebuilding should probably be dated to the second half of the century.

That this is Metz's earliest church makes it a good candidate to be considered the city's first cathedral, and indeed, depending upon how we judge the oratory, perhaps its only Late Roman cathedral. This line of argument, admittedly, depends upon the assumption that every city of Metz's secular status must have a bishop, and that bishop must have a seat; as Harries has demonstrated, this need not necessarily be the case[122]. The pattern, however, is that even if not all *civitates* had bishops, most did, and thus we might expect Metz to have had one. Sixth century tradition certainly both gave Metz a bishop from the third century and associated St.-Pierre-aux-Arènes with the bishops of Metz; this might be considered evidence not only of a desire to

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[118] Paul the Deacon, *Lib.Ep.Mett.*, 261; Halsall, 1995, p.219-21; Oswald, 1967, p.159-60.
[119] Wightman, 1985, p.293.
[120] Halsall, 1995, p.221.
[121] On the pottery, see Wagner, 1987, p.514. The tombstones are considered by Wightman, 1985, p.293.
[122] Harries, 1978.

give Christianity in Metz deep roots, but also to explain an eighth century association between St.-Pierre and Metz's bishop. Such a case, however, is a long way from convincing, especially since it might be argued that Paul the Deacon was recording no more than eighth century ideas on the subject.

The other church certainly of pre-sixth century date is that of the Holy Apostles, later rededicated to St. Arnoul. The crypt of this church contained several sarcophagi, of which one had an epitaph of late-fifth century date. It lay to the south of the city alongside one of Metz's cemeteries, around eight hundred metres west of St-Pierre-aux-Arènes, and approximately five hundred metres south of the city wall. St. Felix, further south and again associated with a cemetery, may perhaps be added to this list of fifth century churches on the basis of inscriptions associated with the site[123]. To this, it would be useful to be able to add the church of St. John the Baptist, just a little way north of the amphitheatre, so that an episcopal complex, along similar lines to that at Vienne, begins to appear[124]. Sadly, however, there is simply no evidence to support such dating.

It swiftly becomes noticeable that, the oratory of St. Stephen in the city centre apart, the Christian buildings of Metz were concentrated in the fourth and fifth centuries to the south of the city, in the same area to which, as it has been argued in Chapter 2, the population relocated in this period. Certainly, given the concentration of churches in one area, by the fifth century a second, Christianised, civic centre had begun to emerge. The significance of this, especially in relation to the Christian building in the city centre, will be considered below.

The city re-founded

Classical tradition was specific about the rites involved in founding a city. It must be founded by a hero, who might then be granted semi-divine status, and whose tomb was placed in an honoured position at the city's centre. An oracle might be consulted, and omens were observed; the will of the gods was made plain to Romulus, for example, through the flight of birds, divine providence already having marked the spot where Rome was to be built by having the she-wolf find Romulus and Remus

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[123] Halsall, 1995, p.228.
[124] Harries, 1992a, p.85-6.

there[125]. Sacrifices and other rites might be carried out by the *augures*, and then, most important of all, the first furrow was ploughed, marking the line of the boundary of the city; the pomerium. That this was also intended to mark the line of the walls is demonstrated by the fact that the plough was picked up and carried over the places on the boundary where the gates were to go; thus, the walls were sacred, having been marked in this fashion, while the gates were subject to civil jurisdiction[126]. While the walls offered a symbolic dividing line, separating the civilised town from the barbaric countryside, it was the gates which, allowing ingress, could blur these clear cut distinctions.

Few, if any, cities outside Italy can actually have been founded like this, and thus, in few cities was the *pomerium* ever marked[127]. Even in Rome, the line of the *pomerium* is far from clear to modern scholars, and in fact seems to have been adjusted several times to take account of the changing shape of the city[128]. The actual form of the foundation rites for any given city, however, is not of great significance. Roman civic tradition insisted that a city should have been founded in accordance with the rites outlined above, and thus the assumption must have been that it was. The *pomerium* may not have ever physically existed, but it was doubtless believed to have done so. Educated Romans of the Late Antique period were still versed in the classical authors, even if it caused them the confusion which a traditional education apparently caused Jerome:

> ... when I was on my way to Jerusalem to wage my warfare, I still could not bring myself to forgo the library which I had formed for myself at Rome with great care and toil. And so, miserable man that I was, I would fast only that I might afterwards read Cicero. After many nights spent in vigil, after floods of treads called from my inmost heart, after the recollection of my past sins, I would once more take up Plautus[129].

Knowledge of pagan foundation, rites, then, was still current: Tacitus and Livy were still read. Thus, the city walls retained their significance, even if the *pomerium* itself had become an outmoded concept of little or no importance.

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[125] Livy, 1.6.
[126] For a more detailed account of such foundation rites in both the Greek and Roman worlds, see Rykwert, 1988, p.27-68.
[127] I am grateful to Penny Goodman for pointing this out to me. On the construction of cities in the north of the Empire, see Rykwert, 1988, p.68-9; Wacher, 1974, p.16-35; and Woolf, 1998, 112-126.
[128] Robinson, 1994, p.5-7.
[129] *Ep.*22.30. Authors of the classical period dealt with pagan gods, and were not, therefore, felt to be suitable reading for Christians. By the fifth century, these problems had been overcome: the educated Christian, as so many of the poems and letters of Sidonius Apollinaris from his days in Rome before he became a bishop demonstrate, might even invoke the pagan gods in literature. See, for example, *Panegyric* 9.50-180, to Felix, and the Introduction to the *Panegyric to Avitus* (6.1-36).

This is significant for the building programme of the Christian church throughout the Roman Empire, and in Gaul in particular. The process by which the Christian church came to dominate, or at least claim that it dominated, the cities of Gaul was more complex than a simple growth in the numbers of Christians, and therefore in the status and authority of the bishops. It required a change in the perception of Christianity among the inhabitants of Roman Gaul, and therefore in the status of Christian ritual, and in the places in which that ritual was carried out; a re-founding of the city in both a physical and an "imaginary" sense.

The development of Christian buildings in the suburbs and necropoleis of the cities of Gaul in general, and of Trier and Metz in particular, created tensions in urban geography. On the one hand, where once the population would have gathered in the city centre to celebrate the festivals of the pagan calendar, and to join with the rest of the Empire in an act of symbolic unity in praying for the safety of the Emperor or of the Empire, now those who were Christians congregated at separate foci beyond the city walls, to take part in Christian ritual. While we have no idea of what proportion of the inhabitants of any Gallic city either remained pagan or became Christian in the fourth and fifth centuries, it is a reasonable assumption that urban populations were neither wholly pagan nor wholly Christian. Even in the period after the closure of the pagan temples, there was no legal compulsion for pagans to become Christians, as there had been for Christians to recognise pagan gods in earlier periods[130]. Thus, the Christian presence was divisive, pulling sections of the urban population apart on both a social and physical level. The situation was made worse in those cities, like perhaps Metz, and certainly Vienne, in which the cathedral, and thus the bishop, lay in the suburban necropolei; as Chapter 3 demonstrated, the bishop acted as a traditional Roman patron to his population, and this too drew the focus of the city's inhabitants away from the city centre[131].

At the same time, however, the focus of most urban life remained within the city, in the monumental heart. Here the official business of the city still took place, here citizens would vote, here the mechanisms of the judicial system operated, here were the shops and markets. This, too, created tensions. On the one hand, the centre of

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[130] See, for example, Pliny, *Ep.* 10.96.1-10, and *Ep.* 10.97.1-2.

[131] On Vienne, see Harries, 1992a, p.85-6. Here, *memoriae* were built in the suburbs as centres for cult; to the Milan martyrs Gervasius and Protasius to the south east, and to the Gallic martyrs Julian of Brioude and Ferreolus to the north west. To the south west, as the main church in the episcopal complex, was constructed the basilica of the Apostles, used as the burial church for the bishops of the city from Mamertus in the later fifth century onward.

life for the Late Antique Christian, whether he dwelled in the city or in the countryside, was supposed to be in the churches. Here, too, dwelt his most effective patron. On the other hand, day-to-day business pulled him into the city centre. The problem, apparently, was never fully solved: even in the early sixth century, Caesarius of Arles had cause to complain of his congregation slipping away from his services to attend to business in the forum; the dual foci of the Late Antique city provided, for Christians at least, competing calls on time and attention:

> If you were willing to find out and carefully hear what grief and bitterness there is in my soul when I see you unwilling to stay for the entire Mass, dearly beloved, you might have pity on both yourselves and me. Surely, those who understand what is taking place in church when the divine mystery is being celebrated realise the evil they do who without great necessity depart form church when the Mass is not yet finished.
>
> ... Various bodily occupations prevent all from remaining in church: bodily infirmity holds one, general needs another, their own whim binds still others and draws them away like captives. How many even now in the marketplaces and in the halls of the basilicas have time either for lawsuits or business! How many in the entrances of the basilicas or in the tribunals are occupied with gossip or idle conversation! [132]

We should not, of course, see the movement of Christianity and of Christian buildings into the city centre, as a direct response to the attractions of Mammon in the forum. Caesarius, of course, was preaching from a cathedral within the city walls, and in the case of Trier the city centre cathedral appeared at roughly the same time as did the wave of church building in the suburbs and cemeteries surrounding the city[133]. In neither case was the cathedral placed particularly close to the forum; thus, geographical tensions, competing calls on the time and attention of citizens, remained even though the cathedrals enjoyed city centre sites[134].

That Trier received a cathedral through imperial patronage during the period when it functioned as an imperial capital, and that when the imperial administration moved south to Arles in the early fifth century, that city too built a cathedral in its heart, is significant. These two building projects demonstrate an important change in the perception of Christianity, in its status, and even in the collective mentality of Roman Gaul. Both Trier and Arles enjoyed, at different times, promotion, and doubtless increased prosperity on the basis of that promotion; the imperial administration brought with it money and status for the city. In times past, this might have been reflected in triumphal arches, or in the building of larger, grander, public

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[132] *Sermon* 74.1,3. See also 72 and 73.
[133] On Arles, see Loseby, 1996.
[134] On tensions created in the conceptual geography of fifth century B.C. Athens by the physical positioning of significant civic sites, see von Reden, 1998.

amenities; basilicas, porticoes, aqueducts, for example. As late as the 360s, Cirencester, granted a similar rise in status, either formally or informally, celebrated by refurbishing and extending the forum; a thoroughly traditional response. In the cases of Trier and Arles, however, in cities in which the impact of Christianity was apparently greater, the response was to build cathedrals. While the urge to build monuments to celebrate status remained, the manifestation of that urge had altered. The urban community, it can be observed, was beginning to define itself in a different way; as a Christian community, happy to celebrate, commemorate, and advertise its successes in the construction of the flagship buildings of the Church. Cities in the ancient world were celebrated in terms of their monuments; they were an important part of competition between cities[135]. Cathedrals and churches were a part of this, but they also, being so intricately connected with the Christian faith, were an important manifestation of the identity of a city. This must reflect the changing status of Christianity within Late Antique Gaul.

It must be remembered, of course, that with Christian buildings came Christian ritual. Pagan ritual had always been a tool in the control of the masses by the elite of Roman society. Christian ritual performed much the same task, with the additional benefit that it included a degree of "opiate of the masses"; in other words, a reminder to the lower classes that in return for obedience in this life, they would be rewarded in the next[136]. More significantly, however, it should be reiterated that it was now a Christian social order being reinforced. Christianity was able, with the construction of cathedrals in the city centres, not to merely promote its rituals, together with a new calendar of cult activity, but to do so in the very heart of the institution which was the centre of Roman life. When Sidonius Apollinaris wrote to Mamertus, his contemporary as bishop of Vienne, praising the festival of Rogations which Mamertus had instituted and Sidonius had adopted, his message – importantly, it must be emphasised, a published message and thus for the attention of all – was that Christian rites were crucial to the safety of the city:

> Our inquiries have not failed to discover that at the time when these supplications were first instituted the city entrusted to you by heaven was being emptied of its people by alarms caused by all kinds of prodigies. At one time the public buildings would be shaken by a series of earthquakes; at another fires would be repeatedly kindled and bury falling rooftops under an incumbent mountain of ashes... [so Mamertus instituted the festival of Rogations] ... Appeased by this piety, God, who searches the heart,

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[135] Laurence, 1994, p.20.
[136] For example, the Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 5).

caused your supplication to be a deliverance to you, an example to all others, and a protection to both. So thenceforth losses were no calamity and portents no terror in that city. [137]

The rites of the festival propitiate divine anger; Sidonius actually uses the example of Ninevah to make his point[138]. This city, having taken heed of the warnings of God through the agency of Jonah, and acted to propitiate Him, was saved from destruction; Mamertus thus becomes a modern-day Jonah, rescuing the city of Vienne from its own sins by showing it the path of righteousness.

Such rites, involving as they did public processions and prayers, marked the dominance, or at least the advertisement of claims to dominance, of a Christian elite, controllers of Christian rites and festivals, and linked to the safety of the city through their control, even their creation, of Christian liturgy. The power of that elite was reflected in the presence, and even the popularity, of such festivals as Rogationtide, Christmas and Easter. Hence Ausonius's desire to return to his native city of Bordeaux, despite his, perhaps fashionable, dislike of the *urbs*[139]. Even while faith doubtless played a part in Ausonius' compunction to return to Bordeaux, his secondary motive must also be remembered; he wished to take part in rites which reinforced the presence and the significance of the Christian faith. That his participation was so important may well be symptomatic of the insecurity of the early Church, unsure of the pre-eminence of its rituals within the city, and thus in need of a good attendance to prove the worth of their appeal. That insecurity was also at least partly behind Caesarius' complaints, over a hundred years later, that his congregation would leave his services; he was, doubtless, not only concerned for their souls, but also that Christian ritual did not have quite the attraction for his congregation that he would have liked, and the image of Christianity which this presented to the Late Antique world.

Importantly for the Christian re-foundation of the city, these rites were, with the movement of churches from their marginal positions in the suburbs into the city centres, taking place within the city walls. That Christian buildings were from the early fifth century – earlier in the case of Trier – appearing within the walls must mark, at some level, the conquest and the adoption of that boundary. Admittedly, this may have been an unconscious conquest, driven not by an urge to overcome a pagan

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[137] *Ep.*7.1-7.
[138] *Ep.*7.3.
[139] *Ep.*18. See Chapter 1.

boundary, but simply by a desire to mark the dominance of the Church and of Christian ritual by placing Christian buildings in the centre of the city. Nevertheless, it was, with the benefit of hindsight, a significant victory for the Church, constructing buildings designed for Christian liturgy within an area so carefully defined by pagan rite, and so closely connected with the original foundation of the city. This is particularly obvious in the case of Trier, since the presence of the cathedral within that city's centre predates the spate of laws which gradually made the practice of paganism first of all increasingly difficult, and then, by the end of the fourth century, illegal on anything except a purely private scale[140]. Christianity in Trier at this stage, while supported by an imperial family which was extremely anxious to promote the Christian faith, had to compete with buoyant and well-supported paganism centred upon the Altbachtal. This is not, of course, to say that the oratory at Metz was built in a post-pagan townscape; while pagan temples were closed in the late fourth century, pagan practice and belief, as the early sections of this chapter argued, continued to be a part of the Gallic mindset.

Once the Christian Church had moved within the city, the boundary which swiftly became significant was the city wall, delineating the extent of the Christian community, and thus perhaps the limits of the bishop's authority[141]. It was also of enormous significance as a sacred boundary, which evil had to cross in order to attack the Christian community, physical and spiritual safety being conflated, as in this letter of Ruricius':

> Under Hierobabel those who had returned from captivity restored the walls of Jerusalem. When they became involved in a war against other peoples because of the restoration of the wall, they worked with their right hands and fought with their left, extending, of course, on the left the shield of faith against their adversaries and building on the right a wall of good works as if of fitted stones. [142]

The wall, of course, can only be seen to good effect during conflict; in this case, in fact, it provokes conflict, perhaps because Ruricius saw objections to the Church's claim on the city. Conflict, in any case, is important; without it the efficacy of the wall

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[140] *Cod. Theod.* 16.10.10 made the use of the temples illegal. This would not prohibit private gatherings, unless any space used for pagan practices were to be defined as a temple.
[141] The degree of interest taken in the countryside by the church is unclear. Caesarius, writing at the end of the period under consideration here, was aware that the church had rural responsibilities: "Now, all these truths and similar ones not only bishops of the Lord in cities but also presbyters and deacons in parishes can and should frequently preach." (*Sermon* 1.12.) On this subject, see, generally, Frend, 1979, and, more specifically for Gaul, Stancliffe, 1979. Both would suggest that the Church took an interest in the countryside, at least as far as founding churches went. In Gallic Christian writings, however, as Chapter 1 shows, city and countryside are more often set up in opposition to one another
[142] *Ep.*2.15.

as spiritual boundary cannot be seen. That conflict might be found within the walls, but still threatened them, as Sidonius makes plain in a letter to Constantius of Lyon:

> It is your further merit that, finding the city made desolate no less by civic dissension than by barbarian assault, you pressed reconciliation upon all, and so restored kind feeling to the people, and the people to the service of their city. It was at your admonition that they returned not only to a united town but also to a united policy, and to you the walls owe the return of their people, to you the returned people their harmony.[143]

Civil strife in Lyon, therefore, destroyed the unity of the (Christian) community. The walls, as a result, ceased to be manned; in consequence, the community was at risk of destruction. Only the action of an inspiring bishop, who provided the Christian leadership which the community lacked, saved the city.

Sidonius also praised Ecdicius, who rescued Clermont-Ferrand from Gothic siege. Using a factual example of a city under siege as the framework for his construction of the city as a Catholic Christian community, Sidonius presents a picture of a Catholic community under threat not only physically, from the swords of the Goths, but also spiritually, from the Arian heresy of the barbarians. While Ecdicius fought, the citizens watched "from ruined ramparts"; the Goths, or in other words a non-Catholic threat to the city, were almost successful in penetrating the walls and thus the Christian community, and only the actions of a heroic Christian saved the city[144]. The terms in which the Goths are here figured as the threat is significant, since this people were known to be Arian rather than Catholic Christians, having been converted by the Arian bishop Ulfilas[145]. The threat to the Christian community is presented by Sidonius in physical terms, but these are partly rhetorical; the Goths represent the threat of Arianism to the Catholic city, and the letter as a whole is a reminder that the community must continue to work to be good Catholic Christians if such evil is to be held at bay.

Evil, of course, need not only take the form of barbarian heretics. Simple sickness, as Sulpicius Severus demonstrated, could be a threat to the community. Thus, St. Martin, when he healed a leper, did so at the city gates[146]. The geographical positioning of this miracle is significant for several reasons. Firstly, it provides a demonstration of God's power at the weakest, least spiritually protected, point in the city walls, where a threat to the community would find it easiest to gain ingress. That

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[143] *Ep.*3.2.
[144] *Ep.*3.3.
[145] Wallace-Hadrill, 1985, p.23.
[146] *Life of St. Martin*, 18.

weak point, therefore, was reinforced. Secondly, the leper, and thus his illness, the threat to the community, are placed beyond the city walls; the threat cannot enter the walls of the Christian community, and thus neither can the leper. Only when he is cured – in other words, only when God, through St. Martin, removes the threat to the community – does the leper re-enter the city. His re-adoption into civic life is marked by his visit to the cathedral: having been barred from the urban community, he can once again play a full part in its life, and the most important aspect of that life is participation in Christian ritual. The city, as defined by its wall, then, becomes a community of true, Catholic, Christians; divided from them by this spiritual boundary are the those things which might threaten the well-being of that community. It is, of course, a boundary of the mind, part of the image of the city re-founded as the "city of God", rather than a purely physical boundary. The important point is that the wall was felt to enclose and protect, both physically and spiritually, the Christian community. The bishops were asserting the primacy of this urban boundary, and adopting it into Christian ideology.

The saints associated with the city thus played an important role in both the defence of the Christian community, and also in the Christian re-founding of the city. Relics were of vital importance in this process, but so were the *Vitae* of the saints; a form of literary relic, they advertised to the Late Antique world at large the significance of the saint for the community and the kind of actions he might be expected to perform. In many ways, the account of the actions performed by the saint in life provides a guide to the kind of things which might be expected of the saint in death. In life, the saint fought for his community, performing miracles and casting out demons; once in heaven it was hoped that he might do the same. St. Hilary wrote of St. Honoratus, one of the patron saints of Arles:

> The grace of his tomb gives us no small assurance, for we are truly confident of his patronage in heaven whose remains we have buried here. [147]

Victricius of Rouen draws, like Sidonius, upon warlike images to make plain the significance of the presence of the saints of a city, supporting the population and protecting the walls:

> But now, most loving ones, what we need is prayer, not peroration. Prayer, I say, so that we may repel all assaults of the devil, who secretly slips into our hearts. Strengthen your worshippers, then, o saints,

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[147] *Life of St. Honoratus*, p.391.

strengthen your worshippers, and establish our hearts on the cornerstone. The enemy is dangerous and strong. He tries every approach, every entrance. But there is nothing to fear: great is the multitude of saints that marches against him. Since such a number of soldiers and kings has come to us from the camp of heaven, let us seize the weapons of justice and wisdom, protect ourselves with the shield of faith... Our martyrs will willingly associate with us if we bring a pure conscience to their service. [148]

Not all the power of relics lay in their ability to fight for the community. This was an important part of their function, hence the number of stories of saints participating in wars, but they also had a healing role[149]. The significance of this is emphasised by Victricius, in a lengthy list of the saints of cities of both Eastern and Western empires who were known to have performed miracles of healing[150].

By conflating the urban community and the Christian community, Christian writers thus inserted holy men and saints into urban histories. Saint Martin, for example, was given enormous significance in several cities through the miracles which he was claimed to have performed in their defence. Not only Tours claimed him; his *Vita* connects him closely with Trier, and at Trier we can see an attempt, in the church built in the northern suburbs, to connect the city with the saint and thus add him to the history of the city. He was also to be found at Vienne, doubtless for the same reasons[151]. The saints and martyrs could play the same protective role as the mythical founders of classical cities, and were thus founders of a sort themselves[152]. Their presence in the city in life marked the beginning of a city's Christian existence, and in some cases the *Vitae* of saints can be seen as an attempt to write the saint into the city's history. Certainly, the saint's deeds might give the city prestige, and thus the *Vita* is an attempt to claim the saint for a particular city; sole control of a saint might be expected to give greater prestige to a city than if the saint was shared. Better, however, some relics than no relics; Victricius made plain his gratitude to Ambrose of Milan for the gift of relics[153]. Competition for relics was in general stiff, with favours expected in return for relics, as Sidonius made plain when he wrote to Mamertus of Vienne. Mamertus had instituted the cults of Ferreolus and Julianus; Sidonius

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[148] *Praising the Saints*, 15.44-52,62.
[149] Saints might fight, both against demons (for example, St. Germanus, 8-9, and St. Martin, 17), and against heretical humans (St. Germanus in Britain, *Life* 17-18).
[150] *Praising the Saints*, 11.1-14.
[151] See Harries, 1992a, p.85 (on Vienne) and p.88 (on Tours). Also on Tours, see Sidonius, *Ep.* 5.18, mentioning Bishop Perpetuus' promotion of the cult of St. Martin.
[152] Brown (1981, p.5), argues that the cult of Christian martyrs was significantly different from classical hero cult, on the basis that they represent different relationships with the divine. His examples, however, are chosen to suit his argument, and he ignores the possibility of evolution of the role between classical Greece and the Late Antique world.
[153] *Praising the Saints*, 2.1.

evidently felt that Julianus was one of his local saints and expected something in return:

> So what we claim as compensation is not unfair – that a portion of patronage should come to us from Vienne, seeing that a portion of our patron saint has returned from here to you. [154]

Relics, then, were desirable commodities, and competition for them was of great significance for the cities of Gaul. They provided money, from pilgrimage, and status; skilful promotion of relics could bring an insignificant city great prestige[155]. More significantly, they gave the city a Christian past and thus a Christian identity.

The translation of relics to a city was a great event, and celebrated with processions, choirs, and prayers[156]. Brown has argued that, in such a procession, the dead might breach the walls of the city, his implication being that then the cities of the dead and the live might be united as one[157]. The dead were no longer regarded as polluting, but as part of the city itself; heaven and earth, this life and the next, were, symbolically, being united[158]. Up to a point, this is a valid conclusion, but in the majority of cases of fourth and fifth century translation of relics in Gaul it inverts the situation. In most cases, the relics continued to occupy a place with the rest of the dead in the cemeteries of the cities; in only a few cases were they ever buried within the walls; at Trier, for example, there were only two Christian sites within the city walls before 500, and at Metz only one. Nevertheless, Brown's argument is a valid one; the cities of the living and the dead, the *civitates* and the necropoleis, were united by the presence of the relics; as Victricius and St. Hilary demonstrate, the people processed out from the city to greet the relics. The city of the living went out to the city of the dead *en masse* rather than the dead coming within the city of the living[159]. On festival days, the process might be repeated, as Sidonius demonstrates:

> We had gathered together at the tomb of St. Justus (you, however, were prevented by illness from being there); the annual solemnity of the procession before daylight was over. There was an enormous congregation of both sexes, too great even for the very spacious church to contain, even with the expanse of covered porticoes which surrounded it. After the Vigils, which monks and clerics had celebrated with alternate strains of sweet psalmody, we all withdrew in various directions, but not far, as we wanted to be at hand for tierce when the priests should celebrate the Mass. [160]

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[154] *Ep.* 7.1; Harries, 1992a, p.87.
[155] Harries, 1992a.
[156] See, for example, Victricius, *Praising the Saints*, 3.1-15;12.1-25; Hilary, *Life of St. Honoratus*, 2.14., on the burial of Venantius at Methone.
[157] Brown, 1981, p5.
[158] Brown, 1981, p.2. See also Harries, 1992b, p.59.
[159] Harries, 1992b, p.59.
[160] *Ep.* 5.17.3.

The other processions for which we have Gallic evidence are those associated with the festival of Rogations, put in place by Mamertus of Vienne in the mid-fifth century[161]. These processions acted as a means of unifying not only intra- and extra-mural Christian sites, but also different sites within the city itself. In the case of Trier in particular, the development of a range of sites of civic significance can be observed, doubtless creating the kinds of problems complained of by Caesarius of Arles. Processions both within the bounds of the city proper and to outlying sites united these varying foci within the Christian consciousness, taking them all within the ambit of the Church[162].

The procession, therefore, was of the utmost importance to the city in its Christian incarnation. It associated the suburban sites of the city with the city proper, but in so doing created a tension of its own. Processing out from the city entailed crossing the traditional boundary of the city, and thus reinforced its primacy, but it was also an inclusive act. It extended the grasp of the city walls to include within them these outlying churches and sanctuaries, thus overcoming the fact that the city was, in Late Antiquity, becoming an increasingly disparate entity. Many of the key sites of the Late Antique city were not included within the city walls. Certainly, the Church had conquered the *pomerium*, and more importantly the city walls, by the mid-fifth century, but it had left too many of its earlier foci behind, alternative attractions for the attention of the urban population. While the Church, in its adoption and adaptation of civic ideology, laid emphasis upon the city walls as the limits of the urban, Christian, community, it may be argued that city centres were increasingly being abandoned in favour of the suburbs (see Chapter 2). At Metz in particular, the pattern from as early as 300 is one of movement out of the city centre and towards the suburbs. From c.400-450, the oratory of St. Stephen sits alone in the north of the city, while the last few occupants seem to have lived in an area spanning the wall to the south east and spilling out towards the church of St.-Pierre-aux-Arenes.

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[161] Harries, 1992a, p.87.

[162] Processions such as Rogations might travel some distance, and thus could extend the symbolic boundaries of the Christian community some way. The Rogations procession from Clermont, for example, travelled sixty five kilometres to Brioude, a site of some significance over which the bishops of Clermont – the family of Gregory of Tours – were anxious to gain to some control (Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks*, 4.5; 4.13). If the procession brought Brioude within the boundaries of Clermont, then the bishops could claim some authority over the site.

This put pressure on Christian civic ideology. One the hand, Christian writers were asserting the cohesiveness of the Christian community, using traditional notions of inside and outside, civilisation and barbarism, to create an image of the city as an impenetrable Christian bastion. On the other, however, few people were actually resident within the cities of northern Gaul by about 400, choosing instead to live at a slight distance. The procession was one way of dealing with this, including within the boundaries of the Christian city not only extra-mural sites, but an extra-mural population as well. While building projects gave the Church control over the physical topography of the Late Antique city, the rituals which linked those building projects allowed the Church to at least attempt to control the mental geographies of the urban, or semi-urban, population.

Conclusion

The coming of Christianity was by no means the end of paganism in Late Antiquity. For all that Christian writers ostensibly ignored it, it continued to be, apparently the dominant faith in Britain until the cities came to an end: evidence for Christian activity at Verulamium and Cirencester is negligible. At the same time, fourth century Trier was actively a battleground of religions; the cathedral and the Altbachtal, representing the old and the new, stood in opposing parts of the city, the cathedral the symbol of the coming, imperially supported faith, the Altbachtal representative of the classical past of the city and the power of paganism to defy the imperial family. In the fifth century, paganism appears more as a Christian literary device, but for all that Christian writings reveal some concern at the pagan residues present in the social habits of a supposedly Christian population.

Set against this was the steady and unstoppable rise of Christian buildings and ideology. In the purely physical sense, the city in Roman Gaul was refounded and refocused upon the edifices of early Christianity; churches and cathedrals. These, in the monumental heart of the city and in the suburbs, provided the focal points for new urban ritual, based upon a Christian liturgical calendar, both together functioning as a reinforcement of the viability and the stability of a new, Christian, social order. In the geography of the eye, Christianity was both at the heart of the city and on its margins; in the geography of the mind, prompted by processions and ideology, Christianity had

conquered the city, placing its buildings at the heart of the city, and thus asserting its pre-eminence within an area defined by pagan ritual. Rather than accepting and converting a boundary of such pagan significance, the Christian community chose to ignore the *pomerium*, using instead the city walls to define itself, and in so doing linking irrevocably the urban community and Christianity. It created in the imagination what might almost be described as an island of Godliness in the midst of a sea of evil and heresy, the wall serving both to show the limit of dry land, and as a dam, holding back the sea. It was a boundary both flexibly extended and reinforced by procession, and guarded by saints; divine protectors and second founders of the city. Thus the city moved away from its pagan past, at least in the version of events propagated by its bishops, refocusing itself both physically and mentally, in its stones and in its histories, upon Christianity.

The same cannot be said of Britain. There is small quantity of evidence for their presence, but the overwhelming picture is of an insignificant Christian Church, without the money or the power to construct the churches which began to appear in the Gallic cities in some numbers in the fourth century. Examples exist, including one possibility at Verulamium, but they are few and far between. Instead, money continued to be spent on the temples; the parallel with Trier is telling in this respect. The popularity of the Altbachtal at Trier suggests that pagan cult continued to be popular among fourth century occupants of Trier, despite the obvious Christian presence. Strong leadership, however, presumably in the persons of the Emperor Gratian and the bishop of Trier, saw the destruction of the Altbachtal. In Britain, no such Christian leadership existed; the wealth and influence obviously did not exist to facilitate the construction of churches, and the continued presentation of the cities as pagan could not be stopped. Thus, the British cities did not evolve from their pagan past into a Christian fifth century. As Chapter 3 has argued, this was not because the city declined to nothing in the fifth century; rather, the lack of a Christian driving force in the cities meant that they did not evolve, and this, in the chaos of the fifth century, led to their end.

Conclusion

The ultimate fate of the cities of Britain differed from that of the cities of Gaul, but the pattern of development for certainly much of the fourth century is superficially similar. On the basis of the available evidence, plagued as it is by problems with material from older excavations, the villas went into terminal decline in the course of the fourth century, their incarnation as stone-built houses coming to an end; in the regions of all four of the cities under consideration – Trier, Metz, Verulamium, and Cirencester – only five villas, all in the region of Metz, appear in the fifth century as they did in the fourth. At several villas in Britain, however, there is evidence of further use of the sites after the decline of the stone-built houses, lasting into the fifth century. At Latimer, Totternhoe, Gadebridge, and Barnsley Park, the sites continued to be used.

In the cities, the pattern is, again superficially, one of the drain of population away from the urban centres from c.350. Closer examination here, however, reveals that, while the population of the British cities did completely withdraw from the urban centres, leaving only a few houses to show evidence of use in the fifth century, the occupants of Metz probably moved only into the largely unexcavated city suburbs, to be closer to the city's Christian sites. On this point, Trier has nothing to offer; archaeology has not provided sufficient data to assess demographic change in this city. So far as the urban monuments are concerned, the British cities continued to build in traditional forms until the end of the fourth century; Verulamium's theatre was refurbished in the early fourth century, and the city's temples were renovated then, and again in the later fourth century. Verulamium's forum received a new triumphal arch in this later round of improvements; at the same time, in the period after c.370, Cirencester's forum was being extended and sub-divided. In Gaul, Metz offers little in the way of monuments other than the new basilica built between perhaps 370 and 400; this late fourth century spate of new buildings may be explained by the restoration of a portion of the income of the cities from rents and local taxes, which had been taken away in the first half of the fourth century. Trier is exceptional; the presence of an imperial court for much of the fourth century ensured that Trier was never short of grand new buildings. While this building in the traditional sphere was going on, however, the cities of Gaul saw the beginnings of a wave of monumental buildings of a new kind. Christian churches sprang up in the suburbs

from the mid-fourth century onward; a development which continued into the fifth century. Trier also received a cathedral in the heart of the city in the first half of the fourth century, a movement mirrored at Metz with the building of the oratory in early fifth century.

Clearly, fifth century occupation of the city sites in Britain cannot be accounted city life by any standards. Urbanism had come to an end; the population had dispersed; the temples had collapsed; no new monumental buildings were constructed after c.400, and the old ones collapsed; and while the fora were maintained well into the fifth century there is no evidence that their use was regular or widespread. Thus, the city had lost its central place in Romano-British society. The elite had ceased to see the city as important.

In Gaul, the opposite is true. The population remained, new monumental buildings continued to be built, and administration continued to be offered; the elite were still active. The difference is that the Christian sphere had adopted all of these urban functions. Here the patterns in Gaul and Britain diverge, and here, in the rise of Christianity, lies the answer to the question of why the Gallo-Roman cities survived into the early mediaeval period, while the Romano-British cities did not.

The key figure in the Late Antique city was the bishop. His elite status and his standing as a holy man gave him power within the city, and his position at the centre of a web of patronage placed at the centre of urban affairs. Under his guidance, the city evolved into something new. Physically, the trend in the fourth century was for extra-mural urban Christian sites to compete with the traditional foci of the city for the time and attention of the urban populace. They won, but the result, at least in Metz, was that the city became fragmented. The Church did not before the fifth century achieve sufficient standing to build on city centre plots of land; thus, its centres remained in the suburbs. Physically, these pulled the Christian populace towards them; they were religiously significant sites; they were the homes of the clergy, controllers of patronage; and they attracted visitors to the city and building a home close to them was therefore a good way of demonstrating wealth and status to those visitors. The city centre emptied, in favour of the suburbs.

At the same time, powerful Christians were asserting the primacy of the city to the Christian religion. The urban community was presented as a Christian community; the city walls were held to define that community. This created tensions; the population of cities like Metz lived outside the city walls, but the ideology of the

church was that the walls were the most important community boundary. The response was to institute processions, which moved from site to site, and thus symbolically included extra-mural sites within the city.

Christian writers had also adopted the city into their discourse. As the fifth century progressed, it became a peg on which discussions of the morality of Gallo-Roman society could be hung. Exposure of traditional Roman ideas about the city to Biblical traditions produced the idea that the city could be both a metaphor for Heaven and a den of vice and iniquity, ripe for the punishment of God. Salvian saw the city in Gaul as evil, but equally he saw within it the possibility of redemption; Carthage was constructed to show that God's punishment, if heeded, could allow a city to become the ideal form of community in this life as well as the next. Caesarius, writing nearly a century later, was more concerned to demonstrate the theme of the Heavenly city.

In short, as Christianity adopted the city, they changed it. Physically, urban topographies altered, becoming dislocated from their traditional foci and concentrated instead upon Christian sites, the seats of the bishops and clergy who offered charity, justice, governorship, and wisdom. Only through heeding the words of the bishop could the population expect to live as good Christians in the urban community of this world, and then enter the Heavenly city in the next life. By introducing Biblical concepts of right and wrong, the rules by which the community was governed were also changed, coming increasingly to rely upon morality rather than upon law. By governing almsgiving and charity, the bishops came to control civic spending, and were thus in a position to both control the image which the city presented of itself through its buildings and the level of competition through conspicuous expenditure among the elite.

This is not to say that every member of an urban community was prepared to be governed by the bishop. In the countryside around Metz a number of richly endowed graves appear in the archaeological record from the early fifth century. Best interpreted not as Germanic but as belonging to members of the Gallo-Roman elite, they represent, in their wealth, rejection of the city as a forum for spending money communally, and in their appearance, rejection of Gallo-Roman standards. While they may not have been pagan, this practice might be interpreted as a refusal to conform to the notions of community promoted by the Christian bishops.

Gaul had its powerful bishops, who were able to drive the evolution of the classical city into something new. Britain did not. This must explain the failure of the British cities to survive. Faced with the withdrawal of Roman administration from Britain in the early fifth century, the cities lost their meaning. The system of which they were a part no longer existed; their function as administrative centres disappeared. Thus, the elite withdrew, preferring to spend their money on private displays of wealth rather than upon a community which no longer had significance. Their villas collapsed, forcing the construction of alternative homes, but they remained in the countryside. In the chaos of the end of the Roman Empire, a bishop was needed, both as a strong civic leader, and to give the community a new meaning and identity as more than a centre of *Romanitas*. This was lacking. Up to the very end of the fourth century, the city had continued, through its buildings, to figure itself as pagan; while Christians were undoubtedly present in the British cities in the fourth century, they were an insignificant force. As a result, the Romano-British city came to an end. Where the city in Gaul evolved as a community, the city in Britain did not, and paid the price.

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